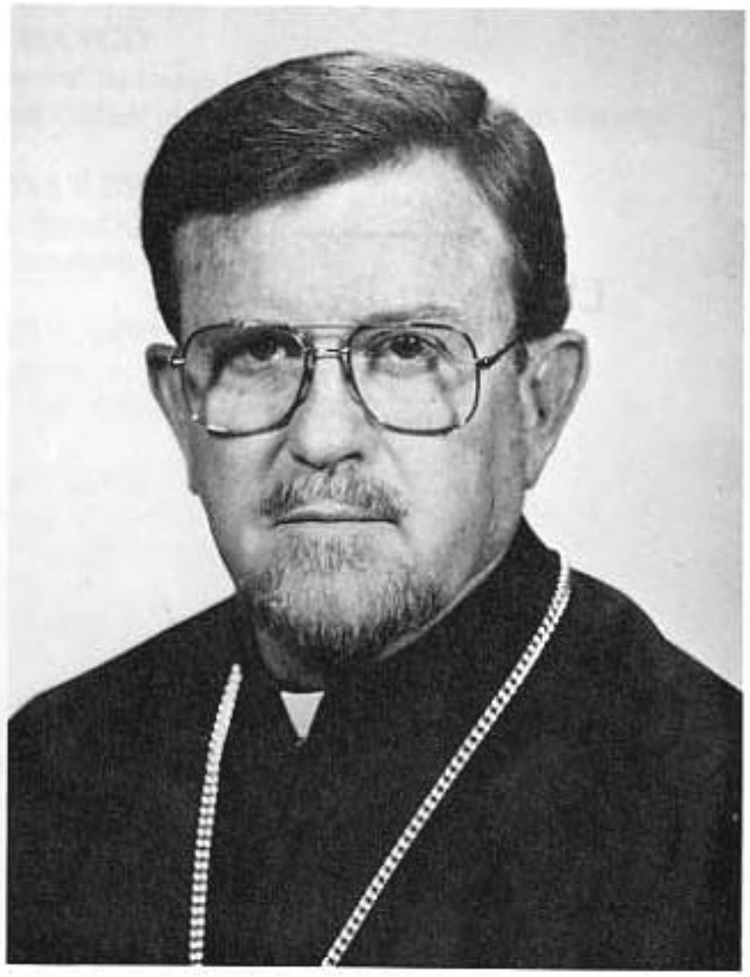

Professor Robert F. Taft, S.J.

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PREFACE

Liturgical texts and directly related literature (anthologies of homilies; mystagogic catecheses and commentaries; kanonaria, synaxaria, menologia, typika, diataxeis, etc.) comprise a not inconsiderable percentage of the material transmitted to us in Late Antique and Medieval Eastern Christian manuscripts. That is especially true of the non-Greek cultures of the Eastern Christian world: Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac.

But despite the overriding importance of church ritual in the life of Eastern Christian communities yesterday and today – for Byzantium one need only recall the place it occupies in the imperial court ceremonials like the tenth-century *De Ceremoniis* or the fourteenth century *De Officiis* – comparative oriental liturgiology, which has as its object the history of Eastern Christian liturgy, remains a scholarly discipline practiced *ex professo* by very few. Born a stepchild of Post-Reformation apologetics and originally practiced mostly by Western controversialists in search of arguments mined from the presumably traditional East (or in modern times by Western clergymen with a hobby for dabbling in things Eastern), comparative oriental liturgiology as an objective, scientific, historical, text-critical, and philological discipline has only in recent decades begun to stake out and establish its own terrain as an independent, recognized branch of *Orientalisme* or *Ostkirchenkunde* and Byzantine Studies. The large number of articles on liturgical topics in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991) are witnesses to this relatively recent recognition.

Oriental liturgiology is, then, a relatively new science. Though its methods are still in evolution, and its history remains to be written, it is generally agreed by those knowledgeable that the discipline owes a fundamental debt to the German orientalist Anton Baumstark (d. 1948), to his followers like Hieronymus Engberding, O.S.B., and to the Liturgy Department (Sezione Liturgica) of the Faculty of Oriental Christian Studies at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome,[1] to which the present author belongs.

With that background in mind, the reader can understand why what Helmut Leeb says in the Introduction to his study of hagiopolite cathedral services in the Georgian Lectionary manuscripts remains apposite:

[1] For an overview of this history see G. Winkler, "The Achievements of the Pontifical Oriental Institute in the Study of Oriental liturgiology," in *Il 75° anniversario del Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Atti delle celebrazioni giubilari, 15–17 ottobre 1992*, a cura di Robert F. Taft, S.J. e James Lee Dugan, S.J. (OCA 244, Rome 1994) 115–141.

> In our time what is required of research in the history of the liturgy is that it produce clear, sure results. In these results, established facts must be clearly distinguished from hypotheses. Because of the refined research methods of today's liturgical scholarship, with its attention to special, detailed questions, a wide-ranging one-author work covering a large area becomes daily more problematic and impossible. Too many uncertain assertions would have to be advanced, too many hypotheses risked, just because one person can no longer keep in view all the diverse sciences. Today the liturgical generalist...is becoming more and more a rarity.[2]

In short, before writing the general synthesis one must have something to synthesize; before building the edifice one must first clear the land, quarry the stone, and bake the bricks. If the author has recently defied Leeb's challenge by offering a brief and tentative initial synthesis of the history of the Byzantine liturgical tradition,[3] it is not because he disagrees with Leeb's strictures, but because he has behind him thirty years of quarrying and brick-baking, first as a doctoral student, later as Professor of Oriental Liturgy, at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome. The essays gathered in this volume comprise but a small sampling of that particular, specialized work which alone provides the basis and justification for that initial synthesis, and, hopefully, for future, improved, more nuanced ones by other authors in the future.

The twelve studies collected here range across the horizon of some of my earliest publications in the field, written before I had completed my doctoral studies (Nos. VII–VIII), to what I would like to consider examples of more mature later work. But even with the passing of the years I find nothing to retract in the earlier work, though an occasional precision or updating of viewpoint or bibliography will be indicated in the *Additional Notes and Comments*.

The articles selected for this volume can be grouped under three headings. Nos. I–III treat the Byzantine liturgy in the Greek sense of that term, i.e., "The Divine Liturgy" of the Eucharist. No. I deals with its growth to synthesis of shape and meaning as it emerges in the first quarter of the eighth century. No. II, an edition and detailed commentary of the earliest ordo of the patriarchal Eucharist of Hagia Sophia, plus a survey of related sources, was intended as propaedeutic to a future book on the Byzantine pontifical rite that still remains on the drawing board. No. III represents a pioneering attempt to use computer technology in determining the authorship of the Chrysostom Anaphora.

Nos. IV–VI are "A Tale of Two Cities": the interaction of Constantinople and Jerusalem in the formation of the Byzantine Rite. This symbiosis is reflected in the Liturgy of the Hours (IV) and in the Paschal Triduum (V–VI),

[2] H. Leeb, *Die Gesänge im Gemeindegottesdienst von Jerusalem (vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert)*, (Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie 28, Vienna 1971) 21.
[3] R.F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite. A Short History* (American essays in Liturgy, Collegeville 1992).

The last three studies (Nos. VII–IX) move beyond the Byzantine Greek world to the East-Syrian tradition, then back in history to the broader world of anaphoral formation across the traditions in the pre-Byzantine patristic period. The first (No. VII), an attempt to put some order into the conflicting views on the shape and geographical extension of the famous "Syrian Bema," though one of author's earliest published studies, has stood the test of time. No. VIII deals with the liturgical use of the bema in the Assyro-Chaldean Rite. No. IX comprises an attempt to trace the origins of the anaphoral Sanctus using the tools of comparative liturgy.

* * *

For permission to reproduce these studies the author is grateful to the editors of *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Nos. I, IV), *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Nos. II–III, VII, IX), *Studia Anselmiana* (No. V), The Pastoral Press (No. VI), and The Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, publishers of *Sobornost*, successor to *Eastern Churches Review* (No. VIII).

The author also wishes to express his thanks to his colleagues Ugo Zanetti S.J., Elena Velkovska, and Stefano Parenti, for their generous assistance in proofing the articles collected here and spotting and correcting the all-too-numerous misprints and errors. In academia there are two sorts of critics: those who criticize to help, and those who criticize to denigrate and demean. The former merit our gratitude, and this author, who, as the years pass, has less and less pretense to inerrancy or infallibility, acknowledges gratefully and without complex his debt to these his former students, from whom, he has always maintained, one can learn as from anyone else.

ROBERT F. TAFT, S.J.

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November 1994

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Collected Studies Series, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated in each page and is quoted in the index entries.

SIGLA

This list contains the common abbreviations used throughout. Two or more abbreviations separated by a slash are indicated where necessary to accomodate diverse systems employed in different reviews. See also the *List of Abbreviations* accompanying each study.

AB = *Analecta Bollandiana.*
ACO = E. Schwartz, J. Straub (eds.), *Acta Conciliorum Œcumenicorum*, Berlin/Leipzig 1922-.
ALW/ALw = *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft.*
Analecta OSBM = Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni.
AOC = Archives de l'Orient chrétien.
ASS/ActaSS = *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana.*
BBGG = *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata.*
BELS/BiblEphL Subsidia = Bibliotheca *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Subsidia.
BHG = F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca* (SH 8a) 3rd ed. Brussels 1957.
BHGA = id., *Auctarium* BHG (SH 47) Brussels 1969.
BHGNA = id., *Novum auctarium* BHG (SH 65) Brussels 1984.
BHO = P. Peeters, *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis* (SH 10) Brussels 1910.
BO = Bibliotheca Orientalis.
BRIGHTMAN/LEW = F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford 1896.
Byz = *Byzantion.*
BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*
CA/CahArch = *Cahiers archéologiques.*
CCG/CCSG = Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca.
CChr = Corpus Christianorum.
CCL = Corpus Christianorum Latinorum.
ChrČt = *Христианское чтение.*
CIC, III, *Nov* = *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, 3 vols. (Berlin 1928-29), vol. 3 = *Novellae*, ed. F. Schoell, G. Kroll, Berlin 1928
CPG = *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols., ed. M. Geerard, F. Glorie (CChr), Turnhout 1983-1987.
CSCO = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
CSEL = Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
CSHB = Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae.
ČtOIDR = *Чтения в Императорском Обществе Истории Древностей Российских при Московском Университете.*
DACL = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie.*
DDC = *Dictionnaire de droit canonique.*
DMITR I-III = A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Описание литургических рукописей хранящихся в библиотеках православнаго востока* I-II, Kiev 1895, 1901; III, Petrograd 1917.
DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers.*
DOS = Dumbarton Oaks Studies.
DSp = *Dictionnaire de spiritualité.*
DTC = *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique.*
EL/EphL = *Ephemerides Liturgicae.*

EO/EOr = *Echos d'Orient.*
Eulogema = E. Carr, S. Parenti, A.-A. Thiermeyer, E. Velkovska (eds.), *ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΑ. Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.* (Studia Anselmiana 110 = Analecta Liturgica 17) Rome: Pontificio Ateneo Sant'Anselmo 1993.
FCCO = Codificazione orientale: Fonti. Pontificia Commissione per la Redazione del Codice di Diritto Canonico Orientale, Vatican City 1930-1980.
GCAL = G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols. (ST 118, 133, 146, 147, 172) Vatican City 1944, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953.
GCS = Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte.
GOAR = J. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines Divinae Liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum, &c. cuilibet personae, statui vel tempori congruos, juxta usum Orientalis Ecclesiae...* editio secunda expurgata, et accuratior, Venice 1730, reprinted Graz 1960.
Ir = *Irénikon.*
JAC = *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum.*
JEH = *Journal of Ecclesiastical History.*
JÖB = *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik.*
JÖBG = *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft.*
JTS/JThS = *The Journal of Theological Studies.*
LEW (see BRIGHTMAN above).
Loeb = Loeb Classical Library.
LTK = *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche.*
LQF = Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen.
LXX = Septuaginta (Greek Old Testament).
MANSI = J.D. Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio.*
MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
Mu/Mus = *Le Muséon.*
NRT = *Nouvelle revue théologique.*
NT = *Novum Testamentum.*
OC/OrChr = *Oriens Christianus.*
OC = Orientalia Christiana
OCA = Orientalia Christiana Analecta.
OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica.*
OKS = *Ostkirchliche Studien.*
OS/OrSyr = *L'Orient syrien.*
PalSb = *Палестинский сборник.*
PAULY-WISSOWA = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
PG = J.P. Migne (ed.), Patrologia Graeca.
PL = id., Patrologia Latina.
PO = Patrologia Orientalis.
POC = *Proche-Orient chrétien.*
RAC = *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.*
REArm = *Revue des études arméniennes.*
REB/REByz = *Revue des études byzantines.*
RHE = *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique.*
ROC = *Revue de l'Orient chrétien.*
RSBN = *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
SC = Sources chrétiennes.
SH = Subsidia hagiographica.
SL = *Studia Liturgica.*
ST = Studi e testi.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
VC = *Vigiliae Christianae.*
ZKT/ZkTh = *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.*

I

THE LITURGY OF THE GREAT CHURCH: AN INITIAL SYNTHESIS OF STRUCTURE AND INTERPRETATION ON THE EVE OF ICONOCLASM*

Introduction

Medieval liturgical commentaries, sometimes disparagingly referred to as "allegories," are not our most esteemed theological literature today.[1] But only at the risk of one's credibility as an objective student of cultural history could one summarily dismiss so resiliently durable a literary genre as the Byzantine liturgical commentary. And indeed, recent research has already prepared the ground for a more nuanced evaluation of this material.[2]

In the following pages I shall discuss chiefly the commentary of Patriarch St. Germanus I of Constantinople († *ca.* 730) and the liturgy of the Great Church that he describes.[3] Although Maximus Confessor is surely a more significant author, and his *Mystagogy* (*ca.* 630), the first extant Byzantine commentary, is in many ways the most important, unlike Germanus' work it is directed more at monastic contemplation than at popular liturgical piety,[4] and had ultimately less influence in the final synthesis of Byzantine liturgical symbolism. And although the commentary of Nicholas Cabasilas (*ca.* 1350) best represents this final synthesis, when the liturgy had reached full form in the διάταξις of Philotheus,[5] and is the most popular of the

* This paper is a revised version of a lecture delivered at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on Byzantine Liturgy, May 10–12, 1979.

[1] Cf., for example, O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London, 1947), 15; J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York, 1976), 118, 202ff.; A. Schmemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology*, Library of Orthodox Theology, 4 (London, 1966), 99ff.; H.-J. Schulz, "Kultsymbolik der byzantinischen Kirche," in *Symbolik des orthodoxen und orientalischen Christentums* (Stuttgart, 1962) (hereafter Schulz, "Kultsymbolik"), 17, 20–21; M. Solovey, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy. History and Commentary* (Washington, D.C., 1970), 70ff.; J. van Rossum, "Dom Odo Casel O.S.B. († 1948)," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 22 (1978), 150–51.

[2] R. Bornert, *Les Commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VIIe au XVe siècle*, AOC, 9 (Paris, 1966) (hereafter Bornert, *Commentaires*); H.-J. Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie. Vom Werden ihrer Symbolgestalt*, Sophia, 5 (Freiburg/B., 1964) (hereafter Schulz, *Liturgie*).

[3] On Germanus, see L. Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos I. von Konstantinopel (715–730)*, Das östliche Christentum, N.F. 27 (Würzburg, 1975).

[4] Cf. Bornert, *Commentaires*, 85–86, 181.

[5] *Ibid.*, 25, 243; Schulz, *Liturgie*, 165–66. Philotheus Kokkinos' rubric book dates from before 1347, when he was still higoumen of the Great Lavra on Athos. It gained great prestige after Philotheus' accession to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople in 1353, eventually became normative throughout the Byzantine Church outside Italy, and was incorporated into Demetrius Doucas' *editio princeps* of the liturgy (Rome, 1526). Cf. R. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, OCA, 200 (Rome, 1975) (hereafter Taft, *Great Entrance*), xxvi, xxxvi–xxxviii.

commentaries today[6]—we do not even have a translation of Germanus—Cabasilas' work and the liturgy it interprets are the end product of developments that mature in the period of struggle and victory over Iconoclasm (726–775, 815–843),[7] the great watershed event in the history of Byzantine liturgy after the golden age of Justinian.[8] As in the grossly mislabeled "Dark Ages" of Western Europe, this is a period of profound change in piety.[9] The patriarchate of Germanus (715–730) stands at the gate of this watershed, and his work is our earliest witness to the new synthesis in popular liturgical piety.

The remarkable success of this synthesis is proved by its durability. Germanus' Ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστική καὶ μυστική θεωρία, continually expanded and updated through the centuries by successive interpolations to align it with each new development in the liturgy itself, eventually achieved quasi-official status with its incorporation into the liturgical books.[10] Indeed this continual reworking of the text may well be the reason why modern scholars have paid so little attention to Germanus. The text in Migne (PG, 98) is hopelessly corrupt, and the authenticity of the commentary was rarely affirmed until the restoration of Borgia and, most recently, the masterful study of Bornert.[11]

Following this restored text, I hope to show that Germanus' work is no fanciful allegory, but a viable, consistent eucharistic theology, suited to the mentality of his times and in continuity with the patristic tradition to which he was heir. The legitimation of his work has, of course, the limitations inherent in any such revisionist enterprise. *A* theology is not *the* theology; *his* times are not *all* times. But studies in the history of theology always show the fatuousness of seeking anything more. Out of the common basis of the New Testament message each age and its liturgical tradition molds its own *Symbolgestalt* to express its particular view of the

[6] At least if one can judge from the attention he receives. In addition to several translations of his major works, there are a new critical edition of his commentary: Nicholas Cabasilas, *Explication de la Divine Liturgie*, trans. S. Salaville, 2nd ed. with R. Bornert, J. Gouillard, P. Périchon, SC, 4 bis (Paris, 1967); and at least two major studies of his theology: M. Lot-Borodine, *Nicolas Cabasilas, un maître de la spiritualité byzantine au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1958), and W. Völker, *Die Sakramentsmystik des Nikolaus Kabasilas* (Wiesbaden, 1977). On the influence of Cabasilas in Western theology, see Bornert, *Commentaires*, 244.

[7] Cf. Schulz, *Liturgie*, 165ff.; Bornert, *Commentaires*, 179–80. Actually, the shift begins earlier, in the sixth century, with the growth of icon worship, to which Iconoclasm was a conservative reaction. Cf. E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 83–150.

[8] For a summary of the various stages of Byzantine liturgical history, see M. Arranz, "Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie. Essai d'aperçu historique," in *Liturgie de l'église particulière, liturgie de l'église universelle*. Conférences S.-Serge, 1975, Bibliotheca *EphL*, Subsidia 7 (Rome, 1976), 43–72.

[9] The Western "Dark Ages" and the new society to emerge from them were less continuous with what preceded, but the Eastern Empire also knew its "dark centuries" (C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, History of World Architecture [New York, 1976], 161), from about 610–850, and the new cultural synthesis in both areas had perhaps more in common than is often recognized, especially with respect to liturgical understanding. Cf. A. Kolping, "Amalar von Metz und Florus von Lyon, Zeugen eines Wandels im liturgischen Mysterienverständnis," *ZkTh*, 73 (1951), 424–64. The history of the piety of this period still awaits a definitive study; for the West the best survey is still J. A. Jungmann, "The Defeat of Teutonic Arianism and the Revolution in Religious Culture in the Early Middle Ages," in *idem*, *Pastoral Liturgy* (New York, 1962) (hereafter Jungmann, "Arianism"), 1–101.

[10] Bornert, *Commentaires*, 125, 161ff. The interpolated text was first printed following the three liturgies in the *editio princeps* of Doucas. From the thirteenth century it appears in Russia in Slavonic MSS, and large sections of it were included in the popular *Sluzba tol'kovaja* (*The Liturgy Commented*), which was sometimes incorporated into the Slavonic euchology or *Služebnik* itself. Cf. Solovey, *op. cit.*, 77ff.

[11] Bornert, *Commentaires*, 125–42, gives an exhaustive study of the textual problem. On Borgia's edition and the question of authenticity, cf. *ibid.*, 127–32, 142–48.

myriad richness this original vision bears. All we can ask of Germanus is what we ask of theology today: that his "model" of the eucharist present a valid expression of the common tradition so as to make it alive for the genius of his age. For it is at the intersection of tradition and contemporary culture that the theological craft is exercised, and in Byzantine liturgical explanation at the start of the eighth century this crossroad was occupied by Germanus.

Eighth-Century Worship in the Great Church: Historia/Theoria[12]

1. *Hagia Sophia*

In no liturgical tradition is liturgical space such an integral part of the liturgy as in the Byzantine, and in no tradition has one edifice played such a decisive role as Justinian's Hagia Sophia. No church even half as big was ever again built in the Byzantine realm; indeed, by the time of the liturgy we are discussing, monastic churches of quite reduced scale has already begun to take over the field.[13] Still, Hagia Sophia was the cathedral church of the city where the Byzantine rite was molded and celebrated, and where the vision of its meaning, enacted elsewhere on a smaller stage, was determined and kept alive.

What was most new about this building, far more so than its startling architecture, was the *vision* created by its marvelous interior, and the formative influence of this vision on the spirit of the ritual it was built to house. A church is not a temple, at least in its original conception. The community, rather than some material shrine, is the dwelling of God's presence.[14] In time it became customary to see the building as a symbol of the mysteries it housed, but it was not until Hagia Sophia that the contents created for themselves a vessel worthy of reflecting this reality. With Hagia Sophia the *domus ecclesiae* becomes the New Temple, and Justinian the New Solomon, as he himself is said to have exclaimed on the occasion of the dedication in 537.[15]

The Byzantines did not, of course, invent the notion of the church as image of the cosmos God created and inhabits, from the upper reaches of His throne upon the cherubim to the lower stage where human life is enacted.[16] But Hagia Sophia gave it awesome expression in a way never achieved before. The sheer mass of its exterior bulk looming over the city made it "a spectacle of great beauty, stupendous

[12] On the meaning of these terms, borrowed from patristic exegesis by Byzantine mystagogy, see *ibid.*, 65ff., 90ff., 218ff., 266. Ἱστορία is the literal exposition of the sense of a rite; Θεωρία is the contemplation of its underlying mystery.

[13] Mango, *Architecture*, 107, 178ff.

[14] Cf. Mark 14:58; John 2:21; 1 Cor. 3:16, 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:16; 1 Pet. 2:5; Eph. 2:19–22. See Y. M.-J. Congar, *The Mystery of the Temple* (Westminster, Md., 1962), chap. 8.

[15] According to the legendary account in the ninth-century *Anonymi narratio de aedificatione templi S. Sophiae*, 27, ed. T. Preger, *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, I (Leipzig, 1901), 105.

[16] Though first systematized in Christian literature by Maximus (*Mystagogia* 1–5, PG, 91, cols. 664–84), the notion of temple as microcosm is a commonplace of human religiosity. Cf. M. Eliade, *Images and Symbols. Studies in Religious Symbolism* (New York, 1969), chap. 1. As far as I know, it is first applied to the Christian church in a sixth-century poem on the cathedral of Edessa, ed. H. Goussen, "Über eine 'Sugitha' auf die Kathedrale von Edessa," *Le Muséon*, 38 (1925), 117–36; trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453*, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972) (hereafter Mango, *Art*), 57–60. Cf. A. Grabar, "Le témoignage d'une hymne syriaque sur l'architecture de la cathédrale d'Edesse au VIe siècle et sur la symbolique de l'édifice chrétien," *CahArch*, 2 (1948), 41–67.

to those who see it and altogether incredible to those who hear of it."[17] But if the exterior was incredible, the interior was terrifying: Hagia Sophia enclosed the largest single unobstructed interior ever put under roof.[18] Those who describe the church are dumbfounded by the same two qualities: the vastness of the nave, and the brilliance of its lighting.[19] The overpowering impact made by roofing in such an expanse of open space uncluttered by pillars made the dome seem to hang from heaven like the sky, unsupported by any earthly force.[20] And the sun streaming in through the innumerable windows, sparkling and reflecting from the golden, mosaic-covered interior and silver-decked furnishings, seemed to originate from some inner source in the life of the edifice itself.[21] This awesome splendor led observers of every epoch to exclaim with remarkable consistency that here, indeed, was heaven on earth, the heavenly sanctuary, a second firmament, image of the cosmos, throne of the very glory of God.[22]

Note that the space itself, not its decoration, created this impression.[23] Only in later, less magnificent structures of a poorer age was this symbolism made explicit in mosaic and fresco, in accord with the more literal spirit of the post-iconoclastic age.[24] A similar impression was created by the liturgy celebrated therein, as we read in the famous account of the embassy sent to Constantinople by Prince Vladimir of Kiev in the year 987: "...We knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We only know that God dwells there among men...."[25]

2. *Sources of the Liturgy*[26]

What sort of liturgy did they observe on this fateful occasion, so overwhelmingly impressive that it became the foundational symbolic event in the legend of the

[17] Procopius, *De aedif.* I, i, 27, Loeb, VII (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), 12–13; and Mango, *Art*, 73–74.

[18] T. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, Pa., 1976), 263.

[19] Cf. Evagrius Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV, 31, PG, 86², cols. 2757–61; Paul Silentiary, *Descr. S. Sophiae* 398, 489, 506, 532, 668, 720, 806, 834, 839, 862, 871, 884, *ibid.*, cols. 2135–52; *Descr. ambonis* 76, 163, 191, *ibid.*, cols. 2255, 2258–59; Procopius, *De aedif.* I, i, 29ff., Loeb, VII, 16ff.; all in Mango, *Art*, 74–75, 79, 82ff., 92, 94.

[20] Procopius, *De aedif.* I, i, 33–34, 46, 50, Loeb, VII, 16–23; Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.* IV, 31, PG, 86², cols. 2760–61; Paul Silentiary, *Descr. S. Sophiae* 352, 398, 489, 552, *ibid.*, cols. 2133–40; all in Mango, *Art*, 74–75, 79, 81–83.

[21] Procopius, *De aedif.* I, i, 30, Loeb, VII, 16; Mango, *Art*, 74.

[22] Cf. Procopius, *De aedif.* (sixth century), I, i, 61, Loeb, VII, 26; Mango, *Art*, 76; Adamnanus (*ca.* 705), *De locis sanctis libri tres*, III, 3, *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi IIII–VIII*, CSEL, 39, 286; the text of Germanus (*ca.* 730) cited *infra*, in the conclusion; Michael Psellus (eleventh century), *Monodia*, PG, 122, col. 912; Nicetas Choniata (1206), *Historia* 4, Bonn ed. (1835), 782.

[23] The original decoration of Hagia Sophia was minimal. Its present iconographic program dates from *ca.* 866–913, after the defeat of Iconoclasm. See C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, DOS, 8 (Washington, D.C., 1962), 93–94.

[24] On the iconographic program of the Middle Byzantine church, see Demus, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 1); Mango, *Architecture* (*supra*, note 9), 249ff.; Schulz, *Liturgie*, 92ff.; E. Giordani, "Das mittelbyzantinische Ausschmückungssystem als Ausdruck eines hieratischen Bildprogramms," *JÖBG*, 1 (1951), 103–34; and the documents in Mango, *Art*, chap. 6. On the later program in Hagia Sophia, see Mango, *Materials*.

[25] S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle, Laurentian Text* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 110–11. See also the impressions of the pilgrim Anthony of Novgorod (A.D. 1200), *Kniga palomnik. Skazanie mest svjatyh vo Tsaregrade Antonija Arhiepiskopa Novgorodskago v 1200 godu*, ed. H. M. Loparev, *Pravoslavnyj palestinskij sbornik*, 51 (1899), 13, 17, 20; trans. B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en orient* (Geneva, 1889), 94, 99.

[26] For complete information on sources of the pontifical rite, see pt. II of R. Taft, "The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church According to a Twelfth-Century Diataxis in Codex *British Museum Add. 34060*," I: Text, *OCP*, 45 (1979), 279–307; II: Commentary, *OCP*, 46 (1980), 89–124 (hereafter Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy").

conversion of Rus? The commentaries of Maximus Confessor and Germanus are the only extant witnesses to the patriarchal eucharist of the Great Church in the period between Justinian and Iconoclasm. But the nonstational service did not change much in the two centuries between Germanus and our next sources, so out of necessity, and with the usual *caveats* about such a procedure, I shall use some of these later sources, but only to complete our picture of rites that Germanus clearly alludes to. Among these sources, the tenth-century *De cerimoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus recounts those rites of the patriarchal liturgy—such as the entrances, kiss of peace, communion—in which the emperor sometimes played an active role. Then there is the most important tenth-century Typicon of the Great Church;[27] and, finally, *Codex Isidore Pyromalus* and the related Latin version of Johannisberg, both sources for the tenth-century Liturgy of St. Basil that contain explicit rubrics for the pontifical celebration of Hagia Sophia.[28]

But for a complete description of the integral rite we must await the Late Byzantine διατάξεις or rubric books, which from the twelfth century begin to multiply as a new genre in Byzantine ecclesiastical literature.[29] The first of these is the eleventh-century *Order of the Holy Liturgy according to the Rite of the Great Church*, found in a twelfth-century vellum portion of codex *British Library Add. 34060*.[30]

3. *Preparatory Rites*

From these and other somewhat disparate sources, mostly from the Middle Byzantine period, we can reconstruct with reasonable accuracy the liturgy commented upon in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Germanus in the first quarter of the eighth century. The preparations for the service, which had not yet assumed their present proportions or importance, took place in the small rotunda called the skeuophylakion or treasury, a separate edifice adjacent to the church, located just off the northeast corner of Hagia Sophia.[31] There the church vestments, plate, and other liturgical paraphernalia were stored; there the people left their offerings before the liturgy; there the clergy vested and prepared the necessary vessels and gifts before the liturgy began. It is not yet possible to speak of a prothesis rite except in embryonic form.[32] The deacons just selected the requisite amount of bread from among the offerings and prepared the chalices.[33] When the patriarch had arrived from his palace at the opposite extremity of the cathedral and had vested, he put the breads on the patens, incensed them, and said the offertory prayer. Such at least is the ceremonial as described in the tenth-century sources of the Liturgy of St. Basil.[34] The prayer was already part of the liturgy in the eighth

[27] J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise. Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, OCA, 165–66 (Rome, 1962–63).

[28] *Codex Pyromalus*, now lost, is edited in J. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον *sive rituale graecorum*..., 2nd ed. (Venice, 1730) (hereafter Goar), 153–56. On the Johannisberg version, see Taft, *Great Entrance*, xxvii, cited from *Speculum antiquae devotionis circa missam, et omnem alium cultum Dei; ex antiquis, et antea nunquam euulgatis per typographos autoribus, à Ioanne Cochlaeo laboriose collectum*... (Mainz, 1549).

[29] See Taft, *Great Entrance*, xxxv–viii.

[30] Edited in Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy," pt. I.

[31] Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 185–92.

[32] On the sources and evolution of this ritual in the pontifical rite, see *ibid.*, 265–70.

[33] References *ibid.*, 274 note 73.

[34] Ed. Cochlaeus, 267, and Goar, 153 (both *supra*, note 28), cited in Taft, *Great Entrance*, 267–68.

century,[35] but this is the first reference we have to the patriarch saying it. In the time of Germanus, on nonstational days when the liturgy was not preceded by a procession, it is more probable that the patriarch vested in the palace and entered the outer narthex via the "beautiful door" in its south wall facing his residence.[36] If there was a station, clergy and people arrived together in procession, going in through the atrium to the chant of an antiphonal psalm. Upon entering the narthex, the patriarch and clergy paused before the central or "royal doors" leading into the nave to say the introit prayer, while the people flooded into the nave via the other six doors, three on each side of the three central ones reserved for the emperor and clergy.[37]

4. *The Enarxis*[38]

At nonstational liturgies, before the entrance of the patriarch and his entourage at least one presbyter and one deacon would have gone in before the chancel to lead the gathering congregation in the office of the enarxis, a simple rite of three antiphons, each preceded by an oration and its customary *oremus*.[39] Neither the opening blessing nor the great synapte ("litany of peace") were part of the enarxis at that time.[40]

5. *The Introit*

All this is preparatory; the liturgy is still to begin. By now the patriarch is seated in the narthex before the royal doors, awaiting the signal for the introit.[41] When the psalmists in their chamber beneath the ambo intone the Monogenes, traditional refrain of the introit psalm—the third antiphon of the enarxis on nonstational days—the patriarch goes before the royal doors to say the introit prayer.[42] To the patriarch, his view into the nave focused past the open doors and interior western buttresses onto the central axis of the ambo, solea, and sanctuary which were bathed in the rays of sun streaming in through the windows of the apse,[43] the words of the

[35] Codex *Barberini 336*, earliest extant MS of the liturgy, ed. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), 309. This prayer, as one of the formulae common to both Constantinopolitan eucharistic liturgies (St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom), is a later addition to both, after they had begun to share a common history as variant formularies of the same local Church.

[36] On the stational rites and the development of the enarxis from them, see J. Mateos, *Célébration de la Parole dans la liturgie byzantine*, OCA, 191 (Rome, 1971), 34–71; R. Taft, "How Liturgies Grow: The Evolution of the Byzantine 'Divine Liturgy'," *OCP*, 43 (1977) (hereafter Taft, "Liturgies"), 360ff. The "beautiful door" is not to be confused with the "beautiful doors" or "royal doors" leading from narthex to nave. Cf. Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy," pt. I, note 12, to which should be added the references in Mango, *Materials* (*supra*, note 23), 96–97.

[37] Taft, *Great Entrance*, 192 note 51.

[38] See *supra*, note 36.

[39] Johannisberg version, cited in Taft, *Great Entrance*, 267, from Cochlaeus (*supra*, note 28), 119. On the development of the synapte from the *oremus*, see R. Taft, "The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology," *Worship*, 52 (1978), 319–21.

[40] Taft, "Liturgies," 362.

[41] Taft, *Great Entrance*, 268–69; "Pontifical Liturgy," pt. I, Text **I. 1**, and pt. II, commentary, 105–6.

[42] On the location of the psalmists, see references in Taft, *Great Entrance*, 79 note 109. The Monogenes, believed to have been composed by Justinian in 535–536, is today the πειρασή or variant concluding refrain of the second antiphon (cf. Brightman, *op. cit.*, 365 line 33–366 line 9). For its original place at the introit, and how it got shifted by the eleventh century, see Mateos, *Célébration*, 50ff.; *idem*, *Typicon* (*supra*, note 27), II, 111 note 4. For its history, see V. Grumel, "L'auteur et la date de composition du tropaire 'Ο μονογενής'," *EO*, 22 (1923), 398–418.

[43] See the photograph of this view in H. Kähler, *Hagia Sophia* (New York-Washington, D.C., 1967), illus. 23, and the description, 28ff.

prayer, like those of the many commentators, must certainly have evoked the vision of the heavenly sanctuary resplendent to the east, before his very eyes:

> O Lord and master, our God, who in heaven has established the orders and armies of angels and archangels to minister unto your majesty, grant that the holy angels may enter with us, and with us serve and glorify your goodness....[44]

And to the people now turned in expectation to watch the appearance of the patriarch and his retinue, splendidly attired in the rich vestments of their order and bearing the Gospel and cross, symbols of Christ, the psalm (LXX, Ps. 94) and its antiphon must indeed have presaged the imminent appearance of the heavenly celebrant Himself in their midst:[45]

> Come, let us rejoice in the Lord, let us shout with jubilation unto God our Savior,
>
> Let us come before His countenance with thanksgiving, and with psalms let us shout in jubilation unto Him.
>
> For the Lord is a great God and a great king over all the earth...
>
> O come, let us worship and fall down before Him...
>
> O only-begotten Son and Word of God, though immortal you condescended for our salvation to take flesh from the holy Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary. Without change you became man and were crucified, Christ God, trampling down death by death. You who are one of the Holy Trinity, glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit, save us!

6. *Theoria*

Germanus (24/33)[46] interprets this "entrance of the Gospel" as the coming of Christ to the world:

> The entrance of the Gospel shows the appearance and the entrance of the Son of God into this world, as the apostle says, "When He—i.e., God the Father—brings the first-born into the world, He says: Let all His angels worship Him" (Heb. 1:6).

The pontiff in his red vestments represents the incarnate Christ, now appearing not in a manger of irrational beasts but in the table of the Word of rational men. Just

[44] Brightman, *op. cit.*, 368. This is the original Constantinopolitan introit prayer. Jacob has demonstrated that the variant prayer found in MSS from southern Italy (cf. *ibid.*, 312, right column) is an Italo-Byzantine peculiarity: A. Jacob, "La tradition manuscrite de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome (VIIIe–XIIe siècles)," in *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident*, Lex orandi, 47 (Paris, 1970), 109–38; cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, xxxi–ii, 128–29.

[45] Incense, cross, and Gospel were carried in the introit (Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy," pt. II, 106–9), but Germanus mentions only the Gospel (cf. *infra*). For the psalmody, see Mateos, *Célébration*, 48–53.

[46] References to Germanus will be given in the text, the two numbers referring, respectively, to the paragraph numbers of the two available reconstructions of the Urtext: N. Borgia, *Il commentario liturgico di S. Germano Patriarca Costantinopolitano e la versione latina di Anastasio Bibliotecario*, Studi liturgici, 1 (Grottaferrata, 1912); F. E. Brightman, "The 'Historia Mystagogica' and Other Greek Commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy," *JThS*, 9 (1908), 248–67, 387–97.

as the angels at His coming sang "Glory to God in the highest" (Luke 2:14), we sing "O come, let us worship and fall down! Save us, O Son of God!" And as the Magi offered gold, frankincense, and myrrh, we offer our faith, hope, and charity, expressed in the Trisagion hymn (25/34), which was chanted, as today, right after the introit antiphon.

The antiphons that precede this appearance Germanus interprets as the prophecies that announced Christ's coming (23/32). The ascent to and session at the throne of the bishop, vested in his omophorion, show Christ's ascension and enthronement in majesty at the right hand of the Father, bearing on His shoulders and offering to the Father the whole race of Adam (27/38).

Upon arriving at the throne in the apse, the patriarch greets and blesses the congregation with the traditional *"Peace to all"* and is seated. There follow immediately the gradual psalm or prokeimenon, epistle, alleluia psalm, and Gospel. The prokeimenon and Gospel herald once again the appearance of Christ (28/39, 31/43). Indeed, this "parousia"—a term Germanus uses five times (23/32, 24/33, 28/39, 31/43) in the context of the presence of Christ in the entrance rites and Word service—is the main theme stressed by Germanus in this part of the liturgy:[47]

> The Holy Gospel is the appearance of God in which He is seen by us, no longer through clouds and speaking in riddles as once to Moses . . . but He appeared openly as true man and was seen by us . . . through whom God the Father has spoken to us face to face and not in riddles, concerning whom the Father gives witness from heaven and says, "This is my beloved son," wisdom, word and power, announced to us in the prophets, and revealed in the Gospels, so that "all who receive Him and believe in His name receive power to become children of God." To Him whom we have heard and with our own eyes have seen to be the wisdom and word of God, we all cry "Glory to you, O Lord!" (31/43).

This is no more than an eighth-century Byzantine way of saying what Christians say of the Word service today: "In the liturgy the living God comes to meet us in His Word and His Sacrament."[48] Christ is the Word made flesh who still dwells among us in the Word of His revelation as well as in the sacrament of His body and blood. For Germanus the introit with the Gospel, ritual symbol of this coming to us now in Word, reminds us of the first appearance in the flesh, of which the presence in Word is but the continuation in sacramental form, gauge of the coming parousia of the final days (33/45).

7. *The Great Entrance*[49]

After the Gospel and homily the patriarch and accompanying clergy descend the synthronon and proceed to the altar while one of the deacons mounts the ambo to

[47] In Maximus, whom Germanus is following here, the parousia represented by the descent of the pontiff from the throne for the reading of the Gospel is clearly the second coming of Christ (*Mystagogia* 14, PG, 91, col. 693). As we shall see, this modification of Maximus is demanded by Germanus' interpretation of the Great Entrance.

[48] A. Verheul, *Introduction to the Liturgy* (Collegeville, Minn., 1968), 21.

[49] See Taft, *Great Entrance*, pt. I, for a detailed history of this rite.

proclaim the intercessions for the catechumens and their dismissal, an empty formality by the time of Germanus.[50] Then the eiliton is spread over the altar, and as one of the deacons continues the intercessions from the ambo, the several others take the thurible and leave the sanctuary via the north chancel gate, going out of the church to the skeuophylakion by the northeast door. In the skeuophylakion they make the final preparations of the gifts, then pass through the rotunda, perhaps exiting by its west door and entering the cathedral again by the doors in the north side, just across from the ambo.[51]

After the intercessions have been completed, the deacons in the cortège herald their arrival with the gifts by intoning the Cherubicon, which is then taken up by the psalmists, who have left their customary place in the chamber beneath the ambo and lined up on both sides of the solea to form an honor guard through which the procession of the gifts, accompanied by numerous candles and the fragrance of smoking thuribles, now passes.[52] When the archdeacon at the head of the procession arrives at the holy doors of the chancel, the procession halts while he enters to incense the altar, the patriarch, and other sacred ministers awaiting the arrival of the gifts.[53]

Like the first introit chant, which served to prepare the people for the coming of Christ in the mystery of His Word, the Cherubicon, sung during this procession without the interruption of the later medieval commemorations, served to prepare the people spiritually for the imminent oblation (anaphora) and communion, exhorting them to elevate their minds and hearts to God, to sing the angelic *Sanctus*, and to prepare to receive their king in communion:[54]

> We who mystically represent the Cherubim and sing the thrice-holy hymn to the life-giving Trinity, let us now lay aside all worldly care to receive the King of all escorted unseen by the angelic corps. Alleluia!

The splendor of this procession is as legendary as the building in which it took place. Indeed, it came to symbolize, by a sort of ritual synecdoche, the entire Byzantine Divine Liturgy.[55]

The ritual preparation for the anaphora is completed with the deacons arranging the patens and chalices on the altar and covering them with the aer, in those days a great veil large enough to cover much of the altar. Not until the thirteenth to fourteenth century does this deposition rite begin to acquire formulae, under the

[50] Since the eighth century another litany, the ἐκτενή, originally from the stational rogations, has been inserted before this (cf. Taft, "Liturgies," 368–69). The dismissals were an inoperative formality from at least the seventh century.

[51] For the sources of this reconstruction, see T. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pa.-London, 1971), 155 ff.; Taft, *Great Entrance*, 194 ff. That the procession went to the skeuophylakion to fetch the gifts is established beyond challenge; the details and route of the procession are hypothetical.

[52] *Ibid.*, 79–80.

[53] Or so it is in our earliest extant description: *De cerimoniis* I, 1, *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le Livre des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt (Paris, 1935), I, 13. Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 151 ff.

[54] *Ibid.*, 62 ff., 78–79, 227 ff.

[55] Medieval frescoes of the "Divine Liturgy" always depict this procession. See G. Millet, *Monuments d'Athos*. I: *Les peintures* (Paris, 1927), pls. 64,1, 118,2–3, 218,2, 219,3, 256,2, 257,2, 261,1–2, 262,1–2; J. D. Ştefanescu, *Illustrations des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient* (Brussels, 1936), 73 ff., 189–90, and pls. XXIX,1–2, XXX,1–2, LX.

influence of the increasing symbolic importance the later commentators assigned to it as the burial of the body of Christ.[56]

While the psalmists are completing the final repetition of the entrance troparion, the patriarch withdraws from the altar to a spot just inside the holy doors and bows to the concelebrating hierarchs lined up on either side of the path from the holy doors to the altar, asking their prayers for the sacred action he is about to begin. They respond with the annunciation text from Luke 1:35: "*May the Holy Spirit come down upon you, and the Power of the Most High overshadow you.*" Then the patriarch moves up to the altar between the ranks of his concelebrants and commences the anaphora, beginning with the preparatory Proscomide Prayer.[57]

8. *Theoria*

In the later development of Byzantine liturgical symbolism the interpretation of this procession and deposition of gifts became the axis around which the whole symbolic structure turned: all that preceded and followed ultimately came to depend on it. But the earliest level of symbolism, that of the angelic liturgy which we already saw expressed in the introit prayer, is also found in the Cherubic Hymn introduced into the liturgy under Justin II in 573–574,[58] and Germanus both continues and enriches this hermeneutic.

> By means of the procession of the deacons and the representation (ἱστορία) of the ripidia bearing an image of the seraphim, the Cherubic Hymn shows the entrance of the saints and all the just, entering together before the cherubic powers and angelic hosts, invisibly going before Christ the great king proceeding to the mystical sacrifice... (37/49).[59]

Symbolized in the fire and sweet smoke of incense is the presence of the Holy Spirit, "Who comes invisibly upon us and perfumes us with the mystical, life-giving, and bloodless worship and fruition." And the angelic choirs, "seeing Christ's economy consummated in His cross and death, and the victory over death, descent into hell, and resurrection on the third day, sing with us alleluia!" (37/49).

In this interpretation of the Great Entrance as a prolepsis of the entire eucharistic anamnesis, Germanus remains faithful to the earliest Byzantine interpretation, expressed in the Cherubic Hymn. I have shown elsewhere that the Great-Entrance chants of the Byzantine and indeed of most Eastern liturgical traditions are not "offertory" chants, but serve rather to introduce the whole ritual to follow, much as the introit antiphon once did for the synaxis of the Word.[60] And in traditional fashion Germanus makes it quite clear that the anamnesis includes Christ's glorious

[56] Taft, *Great Entrance*, 209–10, 216ff., 242ff.

[57] The basis for this reconstruction of the Urtext of the *orate fratres* dialogue is found *ibid.*, 290ff.; for the rubrics, see pp. 308–10.

[58] Cedrenus, *Hist. compendium*, PG, 121, col. 748. Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 68–69.

[59] Here, too, Germanus modifies the interpretation of Maximus' *Mystagogy* (16, PG, 91, col. 693). There, the procession is seen as an anticipation of the entrance of the just into heaven at the parousia, thus inaugurating the final age which, in Maximus' system, is represented by the eucharistic part of the liturgy following the Great Entrance (*Myst.* 16–21, PG, 91, cols. 693–97). Germanus' emphasis on the liturgy as the memorial of the earthly economy of Christ, more than as the anticipation of the final kingdom, does not permit him to follow Maximus here.

[60] Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 62–68.

passover in its fullness. It is not a representation of the passion, as it came to be seen in the late medieval West, with such dire consequences in the singular impoverishment of late scholastic and Reformation eucharistic theology.[61]

But Germanus enriches this pristine interpretation with another, later tradition that would eventually become normative: the procession and deposition as the funeral cortège and burial of Christ.

> It is also in imitation of the burial of Christ, just as Joseph took down the body from the cross and wrapped it in a clean shroud, and after anointing it with spices and myrrh, carried it with Nicodemus and buried it in a new monument cut from rock. The altar and depository is the antitype of the holy sepulcher, that is, the holy table on which is placed the immaculate and all-holy body (37/50).

By the time of Germanus this new, Antiochene interpretation has begun to spin its web of allegory not only at the entrance itself, but back into the rites that precede it, initiating a process whereby the whole liturgical action before and after the transfer of gifts is interpreted in function of the idea that the gifts at the entrance represent the body of the already crucified Christ.[62] Thus the eiliton, spread on the altar by the deacons before going out to fetch the gifts, symbolizes the shroud in which the dead body of Christ was wrapped and laid in the tomb (34/47); and the final preparation in the skeuophylakion prior to the entrance images Mount Calvary where Christ died, prefigured in the sacrifice of Abraham (36/48).

Chapters 38–41/52–54a stretch the symbolism into allegory: the paten is the hands of Joseph and Nicodemus; its cover is the napkin that covered Christ's face in the tomb; the great veil (aer) is the stone rolled over the tomb, and the watch set before it by Pilate.

9. *The Pax, Creed, and Anaphora*[63]

Upon concluding the doxology of the Proscomide Prayer, the patriarch greets the people "*Peace to all*," and the archdeacon gives the command to share the *pax*: "*Let us love one another!*" The only response was the kiss itself, exchanged within each order by everyone in the church. Then all chant the creed and, finally, the great veil is removed from the gifts in readiness for their blessing in the anaphora. The anaphora itself, a prayer recited silently by the celebrants around the altar,

[61] See the recent study of F. Pratzner, *Messe und Kreuzesopfer. Die Krise der Sakramentalidee bei Luther und in der mittelalterlichen Scholastik*, Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie, 29 (Vienna, 1970), and the literature referred to there. The problem is summarized well in A. Gerken, *Theologie der Eucharistie* (Munich, 1973), 97ff.

[62] I use "allegory" here in the sense in which it is generally understood in contemporary liturgical writing (cf. Bornert, *Commentaires*, 44–45). Christian liturgical signification is rooted in biblical typology based on the correspondence between the phases of salvation history, including the sacramental. But it is the whole sacramental rite, not its individual details, that bears this signification. "Allegory" violates these presuppositions either by overstepping the bounds of objective biblical typology, seeing in the rites meanings that are personal to the allegorist and have no warrant in the biblical interpretation of salvation history; or by fragmenting the integrity of symbol and signified, assigning to individual details of a sacramental action separate aspects of the signified reality. In both cases, symbol is stretched to the breaking point. Hence the name "allegory," by analogy with its meaning in classical rhetoric: an extended metaphor. This is not, however, the traditional sense of "allegory" in Christian tradition (see *infra*, note 72).

[63] On the history of the rites of the *pax* and creed, see Taft, *Great Entrance*, chap. 11.

requires no ceremonial elucidation and receives none from Germanus.[64] More surprising is his silence concerning the *pax* and creed.

10. *Theoria*

Germanus begins his comments on the anaphora with a dramatic proclamation of the deposition symbolism that later entered the liturgical formulary itself in some medieval Italian manuscripts:

> Behold, Christ is crucified, life is buried, the tomb closed, the stone sealed! The priest approaches together with the angelic powers, not as one on earth but as if in the heavenly sanctuary, standing before the altar of God's throne. He contemplates (θεωρεῖ) the great and indescribable and inscrutable mystery of God. He confesses the grace, proclaims the resurrection, seals the faith of the Holy Trinity (41/58).

The deacon on the ambo announcing the anaphora with the triple call: "*Let us stand aright! Let us stand with fear! Let us be attentive to offer the holy anaphora in peace!*" is like the angel at the stone of the sepulcher announcing Christ's three days in the tomb. In response, "The people exclaim the grace of Christ's resurrection: '*A mercy of peace, a sacrifice of praise!*' And then lifting up everyone to the heavenly Jerusalem, to his holy mountain, the priest cries: '*Look! Let us lift up our hearts!*'..." (41/58). Here, too, Germanus inserts the historical theme of the burial into the larger context of the whole accomplished economy of Christ's death and resurrection, henceforth ever present in the eternal mystery of the heavenly liturgy.

It is to this heavenly mystery that Germanus directs his exclusive attention in the rest of his commentary on the anaphora. The priest approaches the throne of God's grace with confidence and faith, speaking to God no longer in a cloud as did Moses, but face to face, with the clarity of faith in the mystery of the Holy Trinity as revealed in Christ. The ripidia and the deacons show the presence of the seraphim and cherubim; the people chant the angelic Trisagion (*Sanctus*). The explication of this text from Isaiah 6 provides Germanus with the opportunity to expound his theology of the eucharist.[65] Overcome by his dread vision of the throne of the Lord surrounded by seraphim crying, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts! The whole earth is full of His glory!" the prophet said, "Woe is me! For I am lost; for I am a man of unclean lips...." But one of the seraphim flew to him with a burning coal

[64] See R. Bornert, "L'anaphore dans la spiritualité de Byzance. Le témoignage des commentaires mystagogiques du VIIIe au XVe siècles," in *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident* (*supra*, note 44), 241–64. The Constantinopolitan anaphora had begun to be said inaudibly by the sixth century. Cf. Novella 137, 6 of Justinian's Code, *CIC*, III, *Nov* (Berlin, 1899), 699; P. Trembelas, "L'audition de l'Anaphore eucharistique par le peuple," in *1054–1954. L'Eglise et les Eglises. Neuf siècles de douloureuse séparation entre l'Orient et l'Occident*, II (Chevetogne, 1955), 207–20.

[65] See the similar use of Isa. 6 by Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Homily 16*, 6–10 and esp. 36–38, in R. Tonneau and R. Devreesse, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, ST, 145 (Vatican City, 1949) (hereafter Tonneau-Devreesse), 543–49, 591–97; Narsai, *Homily 21*, in R. H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Texts and Studies, VIII,1 (Cambridge, 1909) (hereafter Connolly, *Narsai*), 57. Germanus undoubtedly borrowed the theme from Theodore. His commentary betrays Theodore's influence throughout, as I indicate *infra*, pp. 62 ff., 72 ff.

from the altar and touched his mouth, saying: "Behold, this has touched your lips; your guilt is taken away and your sin forgiven" (Isa. 6:1–7). This

> ... signifies the priest who takes the spiritual coal Christ in the forceps of his hand in the holy sanctuary, and sanctifies and purifies those who receive and communicate. "For into a heavenly sanctuary not made by hands has Christ entered (Heb. 9:24), and has appeared in glory before the face of God, having become for us a high priest (6:20) who has passed through the heavens (4:14), and we have Him as an advocate before the Father, and as a propitiation for our sins" (1 John 2:1–2), who provided for us His own holy and eternal body, a ransom for all of us, as He says: "Father, sanctify in your name those whom you have given me, that they may be made holy" (John 17:11, 17, 19); and: "I desire that they may be where I am and behold my glory, because you have loved them as you have loved me before the foundation of the world" (John 17:24) (41/59–60).

What follows is a straightforward exposition of the anaphora following the *Sanctus*: the narration and anamnesis of the economy of salvation; the consecration of the bread and wine, by the power of the Holy Spirit, into the body and blood of Christ, who said, "I sanctify myself so that they too might be sanctified" (John 17:19); "Who eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me and I in him" (John 6:56) (41/60). The holy mystery is celebrated by the priest bowed, in colloquy with God alone, contemplating the divine light and the splendor of the glory of the face of God.

The dead and the living are remembered along with the saints:

> The souls of Christians are called with the prophets and apostles and hierarchs to gather and recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob at the mystical table of Christ the king. Therefore, gathering together "*in unity of faith and the communion of the Holy Spirit*," through the economy of Him who died for us and is seated at the right hand of the Father, we are no longer on earth but standing before the royal throne of God in heaven, where Christ is, as He Himself says: "Just Father, sanctify in your name those whom you have given me, so that where I am they may be with me" (John 17:13, 16) (41/60–61).

And as adopted sons and co-heirs with Christ (Gal. 4:5, Rom. 8:17, Eph. 2:8) we dare to say "*Our Father...*" (41/61).

11. *The Lord's Prayer and Communion*

After a not especially relevant commentary on the Our Father, Germanus concludes somewhat abruptly in chapter 43 with the communion. Once again he refers to the Epistle to the Hebrews (9:19ff.): Moses sprinkled the blood of calves and goats as the blood of the covenant, but Christ gave His own body and blood. "And hence with this understanding we eat the bread and drink the cup as the body and blood of God, confessing the death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom glory unto the ages, amen!" (43/62; *end of authentic text*).

Since Germanus does not comment on the communion ritual, I shall not describe it here, but refer those interested to my article on the patriarchal diataxis of *British Library Add. 34060.*[66]

Germanus' Place in Tradition

1. *The Originality of Germanus' Work*

The unbalanced shape of Germanus' commentary is the result of innovations in liturgical interpretation that were to be of crucial importance in later Byzantine liturgical piety. These changes concern the symbolism of the church and of the preparation and transfer of gifts. Not only are they given an inordinate amount of space—far more than the anaphora and communion—but the passages that comment on these rites reflect an attempt to integrate a new level of symbolism into an older system preserved intact in the explanation of the anaphora.

Germanus' treatment of the anaphora is wholly biblical. What we memorialize there is Christ's economy for us: His saving life, death, and resurrection in order that we may be purified and sanctified by receiving His heavenly gifts. The theology of the Letter to the Hebrews provides the basis for the efficacy of this anamnesis: Christ has become our high priest and has entered the heavenly sanctuary once and for all. Thereby, the Supper of the Lord has become the messianic banquet of the kingdom, and our earthly ritual a participation in this heavenly worship. This is possible by the power of the Holy Spirit. By this worship we confess our faith in the saving death and resurrection of the Lord. It is indeed a memorial of all Christ did for us, not in the sense of a ritual reenactment of a past event in its several historical phases, but as an anamnesis of the total mystery that is Christ in its present efficacy, the eternal intercession before the throne of God of Christ our high priest. Its force is rooted in our Trinitarian faith. Its efficacy is the work of the Holy Spirit, sent by the will of the Father, through the hands of the priest, to bring us Christ as He did in the incarnation.[67]

But if we turn to the θεωρία of the church, and of the prothesis, transfer, and deposition of gifts, we see an attempt to integrate into this pristine vision, rooted in the Letter to the Hebrews, another strain, equally primitive though less prominent in the early stratum of Byzantine liturgical symbolism: that of the eucharist as a memorial of Christ's passion and death, even to the point of seeing in individual details of the concrete ritual a dramatic reenactment of those awesome events.

So what we find in Germanus is the encroachment of a more literal tradition upon another, more mystical level of Byzantine interpretation—and this precisely

[66] Cf. Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy," text and commentary, section X. This MS has the earliest full description of the rite. I give a partial reconstruction in "Liturgies," 374 ff., and "Structural Analysis" (*supra*, note 39), 324 ff.

[67] On the parallelism between incarnation and eucharist in the patristic tradition, cf. J. Betz, *Die Eucharistie in der Zeit der griechischen Väter*, I,1: *Die Aktualpräsenz der Person und des Heilswerkes Jesu im Abendmahl nach der vorephesinischen griechischen Patristik* (Freiburg/B., 1955) (hereafter Betz), 267 ff.; G. Kretschmar, "Abendmahl, III/1: Alte Kirche," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, I (Berlin-New York, 1977) (hereafter Kretschmar, "Abendmahl"), 68; E. Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Prayer: Content and Function in some Early Eucharistic Prayers," in *The Word in the World. Essays in Honor of Frederick L. Moriarty, S.J.*, ed. R. J. Clifford and G. W. MacRae (Weston, Mass., 1973), 122 ff. Contemporary with Germanus we find it in John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* 4, 12, PG. 94, col. 1141, and it has influenced the evolution of the *orate fratres* dialogue. Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, chap. VIII.

on the eve of Iconoclasm, when shifts in Byzantine piety led to such growth in the cult of images that Orthodoxy soon found itself locked in mortal combat to defend this new expression of radical incarnational realism against the reaction of a more traditional iconoclastic spiritualism. Kitzinger has shown the importance of the period between Justinian and Iconoclasm for the rise of the cult of images.[68] I believe it is an equally important period in the growth of liturgical piety, where the same dynamics were at work, producing in mystagogy a realism parallel to that in religious art. Since even the most audacious theological innovations usually can be traced to traditional roots, let us cast our net beyond the waters of the Bosporus in search of where this whole business began

2. *The Background: Exegesis and Mystagogy in the Fathers*[69]

All healthy liturgical interpretation depends on a ritual symbolism determined not arbitrarily, but by the testimony of tradition rooted in the Bible. Like the scriptures, the rites of the Church await an exegesis and a hermeneutic and a homiletic to expound, interpret, and apply their multiple levels of meaning in each age. Mystagogy is to liturgy what exegesis is to scripture. It is no wonder, then, that the commentators on the liturgy used a method inherited from the older tradition of biblical exegesis.

For the Fathers of the Church, Sacred Scripture presents more than a holy history. Contemplated in faith, the historical event is perceived as containing a higher truth, its eternal verity, as well as a practical application for here and now, and a sign that points to what is to come. These are the famous four senses pithily summarized in the oft-quoted medieval distich attributed to Augustine of Dacia († *ca.* 1282):

> *Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,*
> *moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.*[70]

The original basis of this exegesis is found in the New Testament itself, which recognizes two senses to "the scriptures" (at that time, the Old Testament), the literal and the spiritual:

> You search the scriptures, because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that bear witness to me (John 5:39).
>
> If you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote of me (John 5:46).
>
> And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself (Luke 24:27).

[68] Cf. Kitzinger, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 7).

[69] The major work in the history of patristic and medieval exegesis has been done by H. de Lubac: see *Histoire et esprit. L'intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène*, Théologie, 16 (Paris, 1950); and especially his monumental *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, pt. I, vols. 1–2; pt. II, vols. 1–2, Théologie, 41, 42, 59 (Paris, 1959–64). J. Tigcheler, *Didyme l'aveugle et l'exégèse allégorique. Étude sémantique de quelques termes exégétiques importants de son commentaire sur Zacharie*, Graecitas christianorum primaeva, 6 (Nijmegen, 1977), gives an excellent summary of de Lubac's work. On mystagogy, the basic work is Bornert, *Commentaires*.

[70] On the text and its transmission, see H. de Lubac, "Sur un vieux distique. La doctrine du 'quadruple sens'," in *Mélanges F. Cavallera* (Toulouse, 1948), 347–66; *idem*, *Exégèse*, I,1, 23 ff.

Thus the Old Testament historical events are understood as having their real meaning only in relation to Christ. This is not a secondary, "added" sense. Until it is grasped, the Old Testament has simply not been understood:[71] "These are only a shadow of what is to come; the substance belongs to Christ" (Col. 2:17; cf. Heb. 10:1, Rom. 5:14, 2 Cor. 3:6–16). To uncover this Christian sense was the sole aim of Early Christian exegesis; its justification was found in the words of Jesus Himself.

Since Origen († 253), these two senses have been referred to as "literal" or "historical," and as "spiritual" or "mystical" or "allegorical," though "allegory" here does not bear its contemporary pejorative connotation.[72] Later classification into four senses is just an explication of the "spiritual" sense under three aspects:[73]

1. the *allegorical* or dogmatic aspect. It interprets the Old Testament as referring to the mystery of Christ and of the Church. Its realm is *faith*.
2. the *tropological* or moral and spiritual aspect. It relates the allegorical sense of the mystery to Christian life; what we believe to what we do. Its realm is *charity*.
3. the *anagogical* or eschatological aspect. It refers to the final accomplishment we await in the kingdom to come, and to our present contemplation of this future heavenly reality. Its realm is *hope*.

This exegesis remains the basis of every decent sermon, of every contemplation of the Word of God in the quiet of one's chamber. It is rooted in the conviction that the Bible has relevance for human life in every age, a conviction based on the belief—stated explicitly in the New Testament—that the old dispensation prefigures and can be understood only in light of the new; that the mystery of divine life revealed and lived by Christ is the wellspring and model for the lives of all who are baptized

[71] Cf. Tigcheler, *op. cit.*, 11 ff.

[72] *Ibid.*, 13 ff. In classical rhetoric, allegory is an extended metaphor. Christian exegetes borrowed this figure of *speech* and applied it not to *language*, but to *event*, as when the passage of the Red Sea is seen as a figure of Christ's baptism: *Allegoria est, cum aliud geritur et aliud figuratur* (Ambrose, *De Abraham* I, iv, 28, PL, 14, col. 432). It is not a question of the hidden sense of the text, or of the relation between visible and invisible realities, but of the relation between two historical events of different epochs in salvation history, such as the passover of the Jews and that of Jesus. But in addition to this *allegoria facti* there was also the *allegoria dicti*, which sought hidden meanings, often contrived, in the biblical text. As we have seen (*supra*, note 62), it is the application of this arbitrarily extended metaphorical interpretation to liturgical rites in the Middle Ages that contemporary liturgists generally refer to, pejoratively, as allegory. On this whole topic, see Tigcheler, *op. cit.*, 44–50; J. Daniélou, "Exégèse et typologie patristiques," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, IV (Paris, 1960), 132–38; H. de Lubac, "'Typologie' et 'allégorisme'," *Recherches de Science religieuse*, 34 (1947), 180–226; *idem*, "A propos de l'allégorie chrétienne," *ibid.*, 47 (1959) 5–43; *idem*, *Histoire et esprit*, 384–95; *idem*, *Exégèse*, I,2, 373–96, 489–522; II,2, 125–49; Bornert, *Commentaires*, 42 ff., 78–80, 269–70.

[73] De Lubac, *Exégèse*, I,1, 305; I,2, 416, 420; Tigcheler, *op. cit.*, 16 ff. This schematization attempts to generalize a tradition that goes from Origen to the Middle Ages, and, as with all synthetic models, each detail is not found in all particular instances. Cf. de Lubac, *Exégèse*, I,2, 657 ff.; Tigcheler, *op. cit.*, 38. All four levels are expressed in Heb. 13:11–16: "... the bodies of those animals whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest as a sacrifice for sin are burned outside the camp. So Jesus also suffered outside the gate in order to sanctify the people through his own blood. Therefore let us go forth to him outside the camp, bearing abuse for him. For here we have no lasting city, but we seek the city which is to come. Through him, then, let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that acknowledge his name. Do not neglect to do good and to share what you have, for such sacrifices are pleasing to God." Cf. 1 Cor. 10:1 ff. This method is also used in the earliest liturgical homilies, which represent its first application to liturgical understanding, as seen in Melito of Sardis' paschal homily, *ca.* A.D. 160–170: *Méliton de Sardes, Sur la pâque et fragments*, ed. and trans. O. Perler, SC, 123 (Paris, 1966).

into Him; that this mystery will reach its hoped-for consummation in the end of days. In short, it is rooted in the present state of the Church as the New Jerusalem, prepared in the Old, and striving toward the Johannine Heavenly Jerusalem of which she is already the beginning and the hope. This is quite the opposite of modern scripture studies, which interpret the New Testament in light of the Old, not vice versa, as did the Fathers.

Be that as it may, the patristic method was to become and has remained the basis of Christian liturgical symbolism. For the literal/spiritual senses encompassed a field far broader than the relation between the Old and New Testament writings, between the events of Israel's history and those of Christ's life. Although the Fathers are reluctant to speak of the New Testament in terms of allegory—that would have implied it was only the shadow of a definitive revelation still to come—they knew from it that the prefigured reality fulfilled in Christ remained dynamically operative in the mysteries of the Church and in the lives of the saints of every age until the final days.

The fourth-century catechetical homilies extend to the understanding of Christian worship this method of scriptural exegesis first systematized by Origen to interpret Old Testament cult, and Christian mystagogy becomes a genre unto itself. Thenceforth, all patristic interpreters of the liturgy will stress one or another aspect of this many-faceted reality. The Antiochenes, more attentive in exegesis to the literal sense of scripture, favored a mystagogy that saw the liturgical mysteries chiefly as a portrayal of the historical mysteries of salvation. The Alexandrines, following the Origenist exegetical penchant for the allegorical, interpreted liturgy by a process of anagogy whereby one rises from letter to spirit, from the visible rites of the liturgical mysteries to the one mystery that is God.[74]

The "Alexandrine" Mystagogy of Ps.-Denys[75]

This anagogical or "Alexandrine" method of liturgical interpretation, in which the contemplation of liturgical rites leads the soul to the spiritual, mystical realities of the invisible world, reaches organic systematization at the end of the fifth century in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Ps.-Denys: "The sensible rites are the image of intelligible realities. They lead there, and show the way to them" (II, 3:2).[76] In the Dionysian system there is little room for biblical typology. Allegorical anagogy predominates: the liturgy is an allegory of the soul's progress from the divisiveness of sin to the divine communion, through a process of purification, illumination, perfection imaged forth in the rites.[77] There is little reference to the earthly economy of Christ, and none whatever to His divine-human mediatorship, or to His saving

[74] Bornert, *Commentaires*, 60–82.

[75] Cf. *ibid.*, 65–72; E. Boulard, "L'eucharistie d'après le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, 58 (1957), 193–217; *ibid.*, 59 (1958), 129–69; R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien. Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le Pseudo-Denys*, Théologie, 29 (Paris, 1954); Schultz, *Liturgie*, 51 ff.; *idem* "Kultsymbolik," 9–17.

[76] Text in PG, 3, cols. 369–485. Chapter references will be given in the body of the article.

[77] See *Eccl. Hier.* I, PG, 3, cols. 369–77, where Denys explains his system. Cf. Bornert, *Commentaires*, 67 ff.; Roques, *op. cit.*, 245, 292, 294.

death and resurrection.[78] What little christological content the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* does display focuses, in typical Alexandrine fashion, on the incarnation, source of our union with the divinity.[79] The liturgy of the eucharist brings before our eyes the life of the incarnate Christ who entered our divided condition in order to bring us to participation in Himself by union and assimilation to His divine life, a union symbolized in the eucharistic κοινωνία (III, 3:13). There is not a breath about "proclaiming the death of the Lord until He comes" (1 Cor. 11:26), or about Christ's mediatorship, high priesthood, or self-oblation. The memory of God's saving deeds is announced in the readings and chants and eucharistic prayer, but the Christian economy, apart from the incarnation, is simply not the model for Denys' eucharistic explanation.[80] The eucharist is in no way a ritual re-presentation of Christ's self-oblation in His passion and death. For that we must turn to the Antiochenes.

The "Antiochene" Mystagogy of Theodore of Mopsuestia[81]

Schooled in a literal exegesis more attentive to ἱστορία than to θεωρία, Antiochene exegetes were less prone than the Alexandrines to interpret the Old Testament in terms more allegorical than typological,[82] and the same bias is manifest in their mystagogy, with its strong emphasis on the relation between the liturgical rites and the saving acts of Christ's life. We see this clearly in the fourth-century baptismal catecheses and other writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia.[83] Prefigured in Old Testament types, the sacramental rites are an

[78] *Eccl. Hier.* III, 1; III, 3:3ff., PG, 3, cols. 424–25, 428ff. For a critique of Denys' view of the eucharist, cf. Roques, *op. cit.*, 269ff., 294–302. Denys does link baptism to Jesus' death and resurrection (II, 3:7–8, PG, 3, col. 404), but in his explanation of the eucharist the only reference to the passion is in the contemplation for neophytes, where communion is a reminder of the Last Supper (III, 3:1, PG, 3, col. 428). On the whole problem of the christological content of Denys' work, see Roques, *op. cit.*, 248ff., 269.

[79] See especially *Eccl. Hier.* III, 3:6–7, 11–13, PG, 3, cols. 432–33, 440–44 (cf. Bornert, *Commentaires*, 69ff.). It is not by accident that Origen and the Alexandrines in general developed a soteriology emphasizing the transforming power of the incarnational union with the prototype, with less scope given to the free, human saving activity of Jesus as man. On the whole question, see A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 2nd ed., I (Atlanta, 1975), 141ff.; J. N. D. Kelley, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 4th ed. (London, 1975), 126ff., 184ff.; good summary in P. Smulders, *The Fathers on Christology. The Development of the Christological Dogma from the Bible to the Great Councils* (De Pere, Wisc., 1968), 41ff. For the influence of this soteriology on Alexandrine eucharistic theology, which stresses the present divine saving activity in the liturgy, with less attention to the connection between this present reality and the historical economy of Christ, see Betz, 99, 125ff.; Gerken, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 61), 65–84. See also the excellent new study of L. Lies, *Wort und Eucharistie bei Origenes. Zur Spiritualisierungstendenz des Eucharistieverständnisses*, Innsbrucker theologische Studien, 1 (Innsbruck, 1978). This salvation via union with the prototype is the model for Denys' interpretation of the eucharistic liturgy.

[80] *Eccl. Hier.* III, 3:4–5, 11–13, PG, 3, cols. 429–32, 440–44. He does state that the whole purpose of the eucharist is to commemorate the economy of salvation (III, 3:11–13), but the incarnation is the only aspect of Christ's earthly economy really integrated into his system.

[81] Cf. Bornert, *Commentaires*, 80–82.

[82] On the Antiochene school of exegetes, see C. Schäublin, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen Exegese*, Theophaneia, 23 (Cologne-Bonn, 1974). Its founder, Diodore of Tarsus († *ante* 394) and his pupils John Chrysostom († 407), Theodore of Mopsuestia († 428), and Theodoret of Cyrus († *ca.* 466), are its chief representatives, among whom Theodore of Mopsuestia is the most important exegete (*ibid.*, 11).

[83] *Cyrille de Jérusalem, Catéchèse mystagogiques*, ed. A. Piédagnel, trans. P. Paris, SC, 126 (Paris, 1966); *Jean Chrysostome, Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites*, ed. and trans. A. Wenger, SC, 50 (Paris, 1957); and Tonneau-Devreesse. Cf. the study of H. Riley, *Christian Initiation. A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ambrose of Milan*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity, 17 (Washington, D.C., 1974).

"imitation" (μίμησις: Cyril) or "memorial" (ἀνάμνησις: Chrysostom) of the saving acts of Christ's life, and an anticipation of the heavenly liturgy.[84] What was prefigured in the Old Testament and fulfilled in Christ has passed into sacrament, in expectation of its final fulfillment. Furthermore, participation in these mysteries is a pledge of commitment to the Christian way of life.

Theodore of Mopsuestia, in his last two homilies (15–16), gives the most extensive application of this method to the eucharist.[85] For him the liturgy is an image and prefiguration of the heavenly and eschatological realities, and a memorial representation of the historical economy of Christ, though he prescinds from Old Testament typology,[86] undoubtedly out of distaste for the allegorical exegesis of the Alexandrine school.

Theodore is exceedingly verbose, but the synopsis preceding *Homily* 15 gives an idea of its dual spirit:[87]

> ...The duty of the High Priest of the New Covenant is to offer this sacrifice which revealed the nature of the New Covenant. We ought to believe that the bishop who is now at the altar is playing the part of this High Priest, and that the deacons are so to speak presenting an image of the liturgy of the invisible powers.... We must see Christ now as he is led away to his passion, and again later when he is stretched out on the altar to be immolated for us. This is why some of the deacons spread cloths on the altar which remind us of winding sheets, while others stand on either side and fan the air above the sacred body....

These themes are resumed in the body of the sermon:

> (15) ...Since the bishop performs in symbol signs of the heavenly realities, the sacrifice must manifest them, so that he presents, as it were, an image of the heavenly liturgy....
>
> (18) ...We continue in faith until we ascend into heaven and go to our Lord.... We look forward to attaining to this state in reality at the resurrection ...in the meantime we approach the first-fruits of these blessings, Christ our Lord, the High Priest of our inheritance. Accordingly we are taught to perform in this world the symbols and signs of the blessings to come, and so, as people who enter into the enjoyment of the good things of heaven by means of the liturgy, we may possess in assured hope what we look for....
>
> (19) It follows that, since there needs to be a representation of the High Priest, certain individuals are appointed to preside over the liturgy of these signs. For we believe that what Christ our Lord performed in reality, and will continue to perform, is performed through the sacraments....

[84] Bornert, *Commentaires*, 73ff.

[85] On Theodore's exegetical method, see the introduction to H. Sprenger, *Theodori Mopsuesteni commentarius in XII prophetas. Einleitung und Ausgabe*, Göttinger Orientsforschungen, ser. V, Biblica et patristica, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1977); R. Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia, Exegete and Theologian* (Westminster, 1961), esp. 76ff., 86ff.

[86] Greer, *op. cit.*, 76ff.; Bornert, *Commentaires*, 80–82.

[87] Unless otherwise noted, I cite the version of E. Yarnold, *The Awe-inspiring Rites of Initiation. Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century* (Slough, 1971), who, however, has taken the liberty of collapsing Theodore's verbiage into more manageable English.

(20) . . . Every time, then, there is performed the liturgy of this awesome sacrifice, which is the clear image of the heavenly realities, we should imagine that we are in heaven. . . . Faith enables us to picture in our minds the heavenly realities, as we remind ourselves that the same Christ who is in heaven . . . is now being immolated under these symbols. So when faith enables our eyes to contemplate the commemoration that now takes place, we are brought again to see his death, resurrection, and ascension, which have already taken place for our sake.

(21) Since Christ our Lord offered himself for us in sacrifice and so became in reality our High Priest, we ought to believe that the bishop who is now at the altar is playing the part of this High Priest. He is not offering his own sacrifice, for he is not the real High Priest here: he only performs a kind of representation of the liturgy of this sacrifice that is too great for words. By this means he performs for you a visible representation of these indescribable heavenly realities. . . .

Theodore also saw the liturgy as a dramatic reenactment of the historical economy. The following paragraph pulls together both facets: earthly economy and heavenly continuation.

(24) Christ our Lord established these awesome mysteries for us. We look forward to their perfect fulfillment in the world to come, but we have already laid hold of them by faith. . . . Accordingly we need this sacramental liturgy to strengthen our faith in the revelation we have received; the liturgy leads us on to what is to come, for we know that it contains, as it were, an image of the mysterious dispensation of Christ our Lord, and affords us a shadowy vision of what took place. Accordingly at the sight of the bishop we form in our hearts a kind of image of Christ our Lord sacrificing himself to save us and give us life. And at the sight of the deacons who serve at the ceremony we think of the invisible ministering powers who officiate at this mysterious liturgy; for the deacons bring this sacrifice—or rather the symbols of the sacrifice—and lay it out on the awesome altar. . . .

In *Homily* 15:25 Theodore graphically describes the transfer of gifts in light of the topographical symbolism in which the sanctuary is the sepulcher whence, in the resurrection, salvation comes forth:

By means of the symbols we must see Christ who is now being led out and going forth to his passion, and who, in another moment, is laid out for us on the altar. . . . And when the offering that is about to be presented is brought out in the sacred vessels . . . you must think that Christ our Lord is coming out, led to his passion . . . by the invisible host of ministers. . . . And when they bring it out, they place it on the holy altar to represent fully the passion. Thus we may think of him placed on the altar as if henceforth in a sort of sepulchre, and as having already undergone the passion. That is why the deacons who spread linens on the altar represent by this the figure of the linen cloths of the burial . . . and when we see the oblation on the altar as if it were being placed

in a kind of sepulchre after death, a great silence falls on those present. Because that which is taking place is awe-inspiring, they must look on it in recollection and fear, since it is suitable that now, by the liturgy . . . Christ our Lord rise, announcing to all the participation in ineffable benefits. We remember therefore the death of the Lord in the oblation because it makes manifest the resurrection and the ineffable benefits.[88]

The analogy continues in *Homily* 16. The resurrection, effected in the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the gifts, i.e., in the consecration, is the effective sign of salvation (16:11–12), and this divine life comes forth to us from the tomb in communion. The sharing of these gifts in communion is like the appearances of the risen Lord (16:18, 20). It is in reference to communion that Theodore stresses the moral commitment to a Christian life of virtue that such a participation in immortal mysteries requires (16:22ff.). So in spite of the fact that Theodore omits Old Testament typology, it is perfectly clear that he is applying to the liturgy the methods of patristic exegesis described above. What is new, however, is his systematic interpretation of the liturgical *historia* as a dramatic reenactment of the passion of Christ, an interpretation that will enter the Byzantine tradition via Germanus.[89]

The Influence of Jerusalem

This perspective can be traced, I believe, to the tradition of Palestine in the fourth century. In Jerusalem we first hear of the topographical system of church symbolism, in which various parts of the building are seen to represent places hallowed during the passion triduum: cenacle, calvary, tomb. After the Peace of Constantine (313) and the discovery, real or supposed, of the holy places long buried beneath the pagan city of Aelia Capitolina, the liturgy of the holy city came to revolve around its sacred topography. Stations at the holy shrines characterize Jerusalem services, and of special import was the church of the Anastasis or Holy Sepulchre (326–335).[90] Considered the New Jerusalem,[91] its influence, soon felt in liturgical symbolism, has lasted until our own day.

This can be seen already in the diary of the famous peregrinating nun Egeria, written about 381–384: the sepulcher, though not located within the sanctuary of the *martyrium* or basilica where the eucharist was celebrated, is the focal point of vespers and of the resurrection vigil, Jerusalem services that have survived in the Byzantine office.[92] Here is how Egeria describes the lamplighting of evensong:

[88] I use here the more literal version of A. Mingana, *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*, Woodbrooke Studies, 6 (Cambridge, 1933) 85–89, somewhat revised on the basis of Tonneau-Devreesse, 503ff.

[89] Bornert, *Commentaires*, 82.

[90] On the stational liturgy of Jerusalem, see A. Renoux, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, I, *Introduction. Aux origines de la liturgie hiérosolymitaine. Lumières nouvelles*, PO, 35, fasc. 1, no. 163; H. Leeb, *Die Gesänge im Gemeindegottesdienst von Jerusalem (vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert)*, Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie, 28 (Vienna, 1970), chap 5; R. Zerfass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedraloffizium Jerusalems*, LQF, 48 (Münster, 1968).

[91] Eusebius (?), *Vita Constantini* III, 33, ed. F. Winkelmann, *Eusebius Werke*, I,1, GCS (Berlin, 1975), 99; cf. Mango, *Art*, 12; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* I, 17 and 33, PG, 67, cols. 120, 164.

[92] See 24–28: E. Franceschini and R. Weber, *Itinerarium Egeriae*, CChr, 175 (Turnhout, 1958), 67–90. On the offices in Egeria, see J. Mateos, "La vigile cathédrale chez Egérie," *OCP*, 27 (1961), 281–312; "Quel-

> ...at four o'clock they have *Lychnicon*, as they call it, or in our language, Lucernare. All the people congregate once more in the Anastasis, and the lamps and candless are all lit, which makes it very bright. The fire is brought not from outside, but from the cave—inside the screen—where a lamp is always burning night and day (24.4).[93]

The symbolism is familiar: out from the tomb comes the risen Christ, the light that illumines, i.e., saves: φώτισμα (illumination) means baptism (cf. John 1; Heb. 6:4–6; etc.).

What was spread across the map of Jerusalem's holy history came to be written small in the humbler churches of eastern Christendom, just as in a later period the stational system of Rome determined the symbolism of the Romanesque conventual church.[94] Thus the sanctuary apse becomes the cave of the sepulcher, and the altar the tomb from which salvation comes forth to the world. The opening rites of today's Byzantine Easter Matins—the light issuing forth from the sanctuary-tomb to the darkened nave-world, the opening of all the doors of the iconostasis—are based on this symbolism.[95] Its application to the eucharist was so congruous as to be inevitable. The next step, or perhaps a concomitant one, since the evolutionary sequence is not all that clear, was the burial cortège symbolism at the transfer and deposition of the gifts.

Whatever its remoter origins, this symbol-system clearly depends on an Antiochene hermeneutic. Theodore of Mopsuestia, by applying it to the eucharist, inaugurated a tradition of interpretation that eventually spread throughout the whole of Christendom, though it came to play a dominant role in the eucharistic symbol-system of only the Byzantine and East-Syrian traditions.[96] We find it in St. Isidore of Pelusium († *ca.* 435), Alexandrine in origin though decidedly Antiochene in his exegesis.[97] It appears in the liturgical homilies of Narsai († 502) and in the later medieval East-Syrian commentaries.[98] It also had its day in the medieval West, appearing there first in Venerable Bede (672–735), contemporaneous, therefore, with its first Byzantine appearance in Germanus.[99]

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ques anciens documents sur l'office du soir," *OCP*, 35 (1969), 359–71, 374; Leeb, *op. cit.*, chaps. 2–4. On the history of the Jerusalem office and its adoption in Constantinople, see Arranz, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 8), 43–72; N. Egender, *La prière des heures: Horologion*, La prière des églises de rite byzantin, I (Chevetogne, 1975), 34–49; G. Winkler, "Über die Kathedralvesper in den verschiedenen Riten des Ostens und Westens," *ALw*, 16 (1974), 72ff.

[93] Trans. J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (London, 1971), 123–24.

[94] Cf. A. Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier. Eine Studie über die Messe in der abendländischen Klosterliturgie und zur Geschichte der Messhäufigkeit*, LQF, 58 (Münster, 1973), 55, 70, 186–201, 316–19, 347.

[95] See G. Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church*, OCA, 193 (Rome, 1972).

[96] For the Byzantine tradition, see Taft, *Great Entrance*, 35–40, 173, 210–11, 216ff., 226–27, 244ff.; for the East-Syrian, see *infra*, note 98. The same theme appears, though not predominantly, in other traditions (cf. the following note).

[97] *Ep.* 1, 123, PG, 78, cols. 264–65. Cf. Bornert, *Commentaires*, 79; Taft, *Great Entrance*, 245.

[98] Connolly, *Narsai, Homily 17*, pp. 3–4; cf. also *Homily 21*, pp. 55–56. On the later commentators, see W. F. Macomber, "The Liturgy of the Word According to the Commentators of the Chaldean Mass," in *The Word in the World* (*supra*, note 67), 179–90.

[99] *In Lucae evangelium expositio* 24: 1, CChr, 120 (Turnhout, 1960), 410. Amalarius of Metz (*ca.* 780–850) borrowed it from Bede, and thus it entered the medieval Western tradition of liturgical explanation. Cf. Amalarius, *Eclogae de ordine romano* 23, 25, ed. J.-M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, III, ST, 140 (Vatican City, 1950), 252–58; *Ordinis totius missae expositio* I, 11, 14–16, *ibid.*, III, 308–11; *Liber officialis*, III, 30–31, *ibid.*, II, 359–62. I have the information in this note from Barbara Newman, "The Burial of Christ in Liturgical Allegory from Theodore of Mopsuestia to Amalarius of Metz" (unpublished paper, Yale University, December 1977), written for Professor Aidan Kavanagh of the Divinity School and shown to me through his kindness.

3. *Eucharist as Anamnesis*

What is one to make of such an interpretation? Can it be dismissed as mere allegory? In the first place, the interpretation of Christian worship as a ritual memorial of certain events of Christ's earthly life was not a fourth-century innovation, a "salvation-history" view of sacraments in opposition to an earlier, purely "eschatological" viewpoint.[100] The New Testament itself expresses a theology of ritual anamnesis in Christ's command: "Do this as my memorial (anamnesis)" (Luke 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:24–25), with the Pauline explanation: "Every time you eat this bread and drink this cup, you are proclaiming the death of the Lord until He comes" (1 Cor. 11:26). I shall not enter into the disputed question of the meaning of cultic *zikkaron* or anamnesis in the Bible.[101] Christians have often been in disagreement over the theological niceties of just how their supper ritual, in obedience to the New Testament "command to repeat," effectively memorializes the passover of Christ, but all agree that it does. Furthermore, it is beyond cavil that the New Testament presents this sacrificial meal as both the fulfillment of the Jewish Passover[102] and a foreshadowing of the messianic banquet of the new age.[103] And it is precisely the dynamic unity of all these levels: prepared in the Old Testament, ritually prophesied in the Last Supper, accomplished on Calvary, eternally present as a heavenly offering before the throne of the Father, re-presented ritually in the liturgical mysteries—it is all this, in dynamic unity, that a Christian liturgical theology must comprise.

The fourth-century Fathers of the Antiochene school, therefore, did not invent salvation-history symbolism; they just chose to emphasize and synthesize it in their theology of baptism, thus "Antiochizing" Origen's view of baptism as imaging the process of growth into Christ by interpreting it as a ritual reenactment of His saving actions.[104] Theodore of Mopsuestia then took and applied the method

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[100] On this question, see T. Talley, "History and Eschatology in the Primitive Pascha," *Worship*, 47 (1973), 212–21. I do not wish to deny that one can observe a greater emphasis on the historical element from the later fourth century, but the case is usually overstated. And at any rate, Talley has shown convincingly that the historical dimension was not a post-Constantinian invention. As usual, it is a question of a new equilibrium of already existing elements. See the interesting discussion in G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1945) (hereafter, Dix), chap. 9.

[101] Among the best recent studies are B. S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel*, Studies in Biblical Theology, 37 (Naperville, Ill., 1962); P. A. H. de Boer, *Gedenken und Gedächtnis in der Welt des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart, 1962); W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im alten Orient und im Alten Testament. Die Wurzel zākar im semitischen Sprachkreis*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, 15 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1964). The concept is applied to the eucharist, though perhaps exaggeratedly, in M. Thurian, *The Eucharistic Memorial*, Ecumenical Studies in Worship, 7–8 (Richmond, Va., 1961).

[102] The synoptics relate the supper to the passover (Matt. 26:17–19, 28; Mark 14:12–14, 24; Luke 22:1, 7–8, 13, 15), whereas John has Jesus crucified at the hour when the paschal lambs were slain (19:14, 29; cf. Exod. 12:22, 46). On Christ as paschal lamb, cf. John 1:29, 36; 19:36; 1 Pet. 1:19; 1 Cor. 5:7 ("Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed"); Apoc. 5:6ff. On the relationship between paschal meal and Last Supper, see J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (Philadelphia, 1966).

[103] Mark 14:25; Luke 22:16–18, 29–30. Cf. G. Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (London, 1971); D. E. Aune, *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity*, *NT*, Suppl. 28 (Leiden, 1972).

[104] On Origen's baptismal spirituality, see E. Kilmartin, "Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctity," in *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of Catholic College Teachers of Sacred Doctrine*, 8 (1962), 71ff.

systematically to the eucharistic rites. In so doing, he was developing a trend present in eucharistic thought from the start.

In spite of the complexity in the early history of the eucharist, the basis of the ultimate synthesis was already becoming predominant in the third century: the relationship of the eucharistic meal to the saving work of Christ. All streams of the eucharistic tradition with their diversity of emphasis have in common the New Testament teaching that the eucharist is a memorial of the salvation brought by Christ.[105] In the earliest known prayer, that of the *Didache*, the emphasis is on the eschatological rather than on the salvation-history dimension, which is only adumbrated.[106] But by the beginning of the third century we see in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus a development of the eucharistic prayer into an explicit commemoration of the whole Christ-economy from incarnation to resurrection,[107] and Semitic prayers of the *Didache* type, no longer considered adequate for the eucharist, fall into disuse or are relegated to the agape, which by then had been separated from the memorial supper.[108]

Another step, especially characteristic of the Alexandrines, was to stress the Last Supper theme of Christ as giver as well as gift, thus emphasizing His actual, personal presence as heavenly high priest.[109] This opened the way to a eucharistic interpretation of the Letter to the Hebrews, another key motif in the fourth-century synthesis.

What we see is a subtle shift in emphasis from praise of God for all His gifts to a more explicit anemnesis of Christ's economy, the chief motive for this praise; and from Christ's presence in the gifts to His presence also as eternal offerer of the gifts before the throne of God.

4. *The Fourth-Century Synthesis*

In the fourth century these new emphases are worked into a new synthesis. The Peace of Constantine in 313 provoked a radical readjustment at every level of Church life, including the liturgy. The passage from persecuted minority sect to Imperial Church, with its flood of converts of convenience and returned apostates, presented a massive challenge to the discipline of the eucharist. The inevitable result was new developments to meet the challenge. No longer was the Church a small, tightly knit community of saints. The raw and ruder newcomers, instructed in the awesomeness of the mysteries, responded by abandoning the table of the Lord.[110] The notion of the common eucharistic communion as expression of con-

[105] See G. Kretschmar, "Abendmahlsfeier, I: Alte Kirche," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, I (Berlin-New York, 1977), 238; *idem*, "Abendmahl," 60.

[106] See 9–10, ed. J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè. Instruction des apôtres* (Paris, 1958), 234–36, 372ff. Cf. Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Prayer" (*supra*, note 67), 125–30.

[107] See 4, ed. B. Botte, *La Tradition apostolique de s. Hippolyte. Essai de reconstitution*, LQF, 39 (Münster, 1963), 12–16; cf. Kretschmar, "Abendmahl," 60.

[108] Kretschmar, "Abendmahlsfeier," 238; and *supra*, note 106.

[109] Betz, 86ff., 113ff.; Kretschmar, "Abendmahl," 69, 71. Of course, the theme of Christ the high priest was ancient; again, it is a matter of emphasis. Cf. Betz, 136ff.; Jungmann, "Arianism," 13; *idem*, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer* (New York, 1965) (hereafter Jungmann, *The Place of Christ*), chap. 13; Dix, 251ff., 279–80, 292.

[110] On this novel way of speaking about the mysteries in the catechizing of neophytes, see the homilies of Cyril of Jerusalem (1:5, 5:4), John Chrysostom (2:12, 14), and especially Theodore of Mopsuestia (13:7; 14:2, 6, 10, 18; and homilies 15 and 16 *passim*). Cf. *supra*, note 83, for the respective editions.

gregational unity had already been broken down by the large numbers of non-communicating catechumens and penitents.[111] The decline in frequent communion and the widespread practice of deferring baptism only contributed further to splitting the community into a communicating elite and the mass of catechumens, penitents, and others who were dismissed before the eucharist or, in a later period, were reduced to the status of onlookers. Communion becomes an act of personal devotion rather than the common sharing of the commonly offered gifts.[112] This is only strengthened by the appearance, late in the fourth century, of new devotional attitudes in preaching, and descriptions of the eucharist as an awful mystery, fearful to approach.[113] Under such conditions the eucharist could no longer sustain its former ideology as a rite of κοινωνία, and Antiochene liturgical explanation begins to elaborate a symbolism of the presence of the saving work of Christ in the ritual itself, even apart from participation in the communion of the gifts.

Concomitant with, and perhaps more important than, these sociological changes was the effect of the great christological disputes born of the Arian controversy.[114] The adoptionist and subordinationist threats led to renewed emphasis on the preexistent divinity of the Logos and His consubstantial equality with the Father. The Arians had argued that the liturgy itself, in praying to the Father *through* the Son, was subordinationist. Orthodoxy reacted by leveling the doxological formulae ("... to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit ..."), and by stressing the two-natures doctrine, according to which Christ is mediator not as subordinate to the Father in divinity, but as man.[115] This solution led, in Alexandrine theology, to a weakening of Christ's mediatorship, and among the Antiochenes to greater stress on Christ's high priesthood as pertaining to His humanity.[116] In liturgical interpretation the Alexandrine school, more concerned with the divinity of the Logos, had less to say about the historical economy of Christ's saving work. Among the Antiochenes, always more attentive to the humanity and to the first level of meaning in scriptural exegesis, it produced in the fourth-century writers the opposite effect: a renewed emphasis on Christ's human saving work.

In a sense the middle fell out, the risen God-man interceding for us as high priest *now*, and we are left with the two, unbridged poles of the dilemma: God and the historical Jesus. The point of intersection which is the basis for all Christian liturgical theology is precisely the divine-human mediatorship of the risen Lord. It is this eternal priesthood that renders actual in the present liturgical event both the past

[111] Kretschmar, "Abendmahl," 77.

[112] *Ibid.*, 77–78. The schisms consequent to the christological crises split christendom into separated groups not "in communion," thus further weakening the eucharist as a symbol of κοινωνία, its prime significance in the primitive Church. Cf. G. Hertling, *Communio: Church and Papacy in Early Christianity* (Chicago, 1972).

[113] See *supra*, note 110; and Betz, 126; E. Bishop, "Fear and Awe Attaching to the Eucharist," appendix to Connolly, *Narsai*, 92–97; G. Fittkau, *Der Begriff des Mysteriums bei Johannes Chrysostomus*, Theophaneia, 9 (Bonn, 1953) 122–45; Jungmann, *The Place of Christ*, 245ff.; Kretschmar, "Abendmahl," 77–78; J. Quasten, "Mysterium tremendum. Eucharistische Frömmigkeitsauffassungen des 4. Jahrhunderts," in A. C. Mayer et al., *Vom christlichen Mysterium* (Düsseldorf, 1951), 66–73.

[114] For the liturgical effects of these controversies, see Jungmann, "Arianism"; *idem*, *The Place of Christ*, chaps. 11–14 *passim*; Betz, 121ff.

[115] Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto* (PG, 32, cols. 67–218) is taken up with this issue. See M. Lubatschiwskyj, "Des hl. Basilius liturgischer Kampf gegen den Arianismus," *ZkTh*, 66 (1942), 20–38; Jungmann, *The Place of Christ*, chap. 11.

[116] Betz, 99–105, 121ff., 125ff., 128ff., 136ff., 194.

saving work and the future fulfillment. This anamnetic-eschatological, past-future tension is what worship is meant to resolve, and each school throughout the history of liturgical explanation has struggled with this problem in its own way, in response to the needs of its age. The Arian attack led to more emphasis on the divinity among the Alexandrines. The Antiochenes, while holding to the divinity, were more attentive to the humanity, but in response to the Arian attack on divine mediatorship as subordinationist, Antiochene liturgical writers elaborated their symbolism of the liturgy as a representation of the human saving work of the man Christ.[117]

I am, of course, aware that any attempt at briefly schematizing such an enormously complex history is open to the charge of oversimplification. But I believe that the main lines of this analysis will bear up under scrutiny. At any rate, by the end of the fourth century Theodore of Mopsuestia had woven these themes into a new synthesis, the two poles of which are the historical self-offering of Christ and the heavenly liturgy, united in a system of ritual representation in which the Christ-anamnesis is conceived as a dramatic reenactment of the paschal mystery encompassing the whole eucharistic rite from the transfer of gifts to communion; and the earthly celebrant is seen as an image of the heavenly high priest, the earthly liturgy as an icon of His heavenly oblation. These two leitmotifs become with Germanus a permanent basis of the later Byzantine synthesis.

The Alexandrine approach, stressing in the liturgy the present divine activity and much less attentive to salvation history, is first synthesized in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Denys around the end of the fifth century. This strain enters the Byzantine tradition of liturgical explanation with Maximus Confessor's *Mystagogy*, is integrated by Germanus, is somewhat diminished in later Byzantine commentators, and is then rehabilitated at the end of the tradition in the writings of Symeon of Thessalonika († 1429).[118]

In light of this background, let us take another look at Germanus' interpretation of the Divine Liturgy, and the accusations of allegorism so often advanced against this whole literary genre.

Medieval Allegorism? A Second Look

1. *From Maximus to Germanus*

Germanus' immediate predecessor in Byzantine mystagogy, Maximus Confessor, clearly depends on the Alexandrine-type symbol-system of Ps.-Denys' *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. For both, the incarnation is the "model" of the soul's union with God, and Maximus' "special" (ἰδικῶς) level of liturgical symbolism—i.e., the liturgy seen as an image of the individual soul's conversion and ascent to union with God—is transparently Dionysian.[119] The entrance into church symbolizes our conversion

[117] It is in this period that a twofold extension of the eucharistic anamnesis can be observed. First, in the liturgical text itself the *content* of the original memorial (the anamnesis in the technical sense, following the "command to repeat" after the institution narrative) is expanded to include mysteries other than the death and resurrection. Secondly, in the *interpretation* of the liturgy, the notion is extended to include not just the anaphora but the entire rite. See Schulz, *Liturgie*, 30–31; *idem*, "Kultsymbolik," 9ff.; Dix, 264ff.

[118] Cf. Bornert, *Commentaires*, chap. 2 *passim*, and 248ff., 268.

[119] Cf. *ibid.*, 118, 121ff.

from evil and material things to God (chap. 9, 23–24); the readings show the divine plan of the spiritual combat and ascent (chap. 10, 23–24); the Gospel is a visitation of the Word, elevating us to the higher contemplation of the intelligible world (chap. 13, 23–24).[120] In the *Sanctus* the Logos places us with the angels and accords us their knowledge of the Trinity. He leads us to the Father as sons by the prayer in which He made us worthy to call God "Father," and brings us to the incomprehensible Godhead in the "One is holy," uniting us to this indivisible unity in communion as far as is possible in the present dispensation. All this is operated by the Spirit, who, ever present invisibly, conforms us to the realities that are prefigured in the liturgical mysteries (chap. 13, 23–24).

In addition to this "special" level of interpretation there is a "general" (γενικῶς) interpretation in which the eucharistic liturgy is perceived as the memorial of the divine economy in Christ, and as an anticipation of the parousia and eschaton. The structure of this *historico-eschatological* typology, which Maximus usually refers to as *symbol* (σύμβολον), is conditioned by his allegorical view of the church as *type and image* (τύπος καὶ εἰκών) —again, his words—of the universe: the nave representing earthly realities, the sanctuary the heavenly.[121] So the entrance of the bishop signifies the coming of Christ in the incarnation, and His saving passion; his entrance into the sanctuary and ascent to the throne in the apse symbolize Christ's ascension and heavenly enthronement (chap. 8). The rest of the Word service, which unfolds outside the sanctuary, is the time of the Church, in which God's gifts for the struggle with the Adversary are mediated to us from the heavenly sanctuary. This struggle culminates in the Gospel reading, symbol of the consummation of the world: the descent of the bishop from his throne, the expulsion of the catechumens, and the closing of the doors signify the descent of Christ in the parousia, the expulsion of ehe wicked by the angels, and the entrance of the just into the mystical chamber of the bridegroom (chaps. 14–16). Thus the Liturgy of the Word represents the divine economy from incarnation to parousia.

The eucharistic synaxis is the symbol and foretaste of the postparousian economy of the world to come, disclosed in the entrance of the mysteries (chap. 16). The *pax* is the total union that will reign in the kingdom, when all are totally one with the Word (chap. 17); the creed is the eternal hymn of thanks for the divine economy (chap. 18); the *Sanctus* shows our unity and equality with the angels in the divine praises of the future age (chap. 19); the Our Father manifests the plenitude of our adopted sonship (chap. 20); the chant "One is holy" shows the eternal union of the divine simplicity and purity; communion is the grace and beginning of the eschatological deification that will then be ours (chap. 21).

So for Maximus the liturgy represents not just the *earthly* economy of Christ, but *all* salvation history from incarnation to final consummation. Though basically a disciple of Denys, his originality is seen in the far greater emphasis he puts on the historical economy. But he remains decisively Alexandrine in his relative neglect of the earthly phase of this economy in his symbolic structure, emphasizing above all the incarnation, with little to say about the paschal mystery of Christ.

[120] The text is in PG, 91, cols. 657–717. Chapter references will be given in the body of the article.

[121] Bornert, *Commentaires*, 117–21.

2. Antiochene "Realism" and the Iconoclastic Crisis

Germanus was what every theologian must be: a man of tradition and a man of his times. Building on this Dionysian heritage transmitted in elite monastic form by Maximus, Germanus, writing a century later in an age hostile to the spiritualization of symbolism, effected an "apertura ad Antiochia," preserving all the while the Maximian vision with some retouching.

This shift is betrayed in the very title of his work: Ἱστορία. It is a commonplace to speak of the symbolic character of Byzantine art and liturgy. But in the struggle with Iconoclasm what we see is actually the victory of a more literalist popular and monastic piety, precisely in favor of a less abstractly symbolic and more representational, figurative religious art: already in the Quinisext Council in Trullo (692), canon 82 ordains that Christ be portrayed henceforth in human form, and not symbolically as the Lamb of God.[122] Now symbolism and portrayal are not at all the same thing either in art or in liturgy, and the effect of this popular mentality on liturgical theology can be observed in the condemnation of the iconoclastic view that the eucharist is the only valid symbol of Christ.[123] Orthodoxy responded that the eucharist is not a symbol of Christ, but indeed Christ Himself.[124] Analogous developments reached their head later (ninth century) in the West, during the dispute between Ratramus and Paschasius Radbertus of Corbie, but Eastern image-theology was able to preserve Byzantine liturgical theory from the radical disjunction between symbol and reality that was to plague Western eucharistic theology until modern times.[125] I do not wish to insist overly much on any causal nexus between the iconodule theory of religious images and a more representational view of the liturgical anamnesis. But the fact of the matter is that both gain the upper hand in *Byzantine* theology at the same time, and represent, in my view, the victory of monastic popular devotion over a more spiritualist approach.

Conclusion: The Synthesis of Germanus and the Metaphorical Nature of Religious Language

This is what Germanus effected for liturgy. How he did so can be seen by re-reading the passages cited or summarized above. A clear example, deliberately saved until now, is Germanus' explanation of the church building, in one of the most frequently quoted passages of Byzantine liturgical literature:

> The church is heaven on earth, where the God of heaven dwells and moves. It images forth the crucifixion and burial and resurrection of Christ. It is glorified above the tabernacle of the testimony of Moses with its expiatory and holy of holies, prefigured in the patriarchs...founded on the apostles, adorned in hierarchs, perfected in the martyrs (1/1).

[122] Mansi, 11, 977–80.
[123] Horos of the iconoclastic council of 754, Mansi, 13, 264 (Mango, *Art*, 166).
[124] Seventh Ecumenical Council (787), *loc. cit.*
[125] See references *supra*, note 61. A. von Harnack summed up the issue with his usual perceptiveness: "Wir verstehen unter Symbol eine Sache, die das nicht ist, was sie bedeutet, damals verstand man unter Symbol eine Sache, die in irgendwelchem Sinne das wirklich ist, was sie bedeutet"; *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, 4th ed., rev., I (Tübingen, 1905), 476.

> The holy altar stands for the place where Christ was laid in the grave, on which the true and heavenly bread, the mystical and bloodless sacrifice, lies, His flesh and blood offered to the faithful as the food of eternal life. It is also the throne of God on which the incarnate God reposes . . . and like the table at which He was in the midst of His disciples at His mystical supper . . . prefigured in the table of the Old Law where the manna was, which is Christ, come down from heaven (4/3).

The same themes are resumed in the succeeding paragraphs. The sanctuary is the place where Christ offered the Father His body as lamb and priest and Son of Man, the offerer and offered, prefigured in the Old Testament passover and consumed by the faithful, by which they become partakers of eternal life. Further, this same sanctuary is a type of the invisible heavenly sanctuary where the heavenly ministers mingle with the earthly, "since the Son of God and creator of all legislated both the heavenly rite and the earthly ritual" (6/5). The episcopal throne in the apse is where Christ presides with His apostles. It foreshadows His session in glory at the parousia (7/6). The chancel is like the chancel of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (9/8). The monumental ambo rising up before the central doors of the chancel is like the great stone rolled back from the mouth of the tomb. From it the angel first proclaimed to the myrrhophores the good news of the resurrection of the Lord (10/9).

And so he proceeds, step by step, throughout the whole commentary preceding the anaphora, giving first the traditional interpretation of Maximus, then adding the new "Antiochene" level of meaning based on the historical economy of Christ. The sobriety of this symbolism and the unity of method is so apparent that one is perplexed by the negative judgments passed on it. For instance:

> In the realm of topographical symbolism . . . over-interpretation set in fairly soon, more than one symbolic identification being applied to one locality or even to a single object of church furniture. Examples of this can be found in the *Ecclesiastical History* of the Patriarch Germanos. . . .[126]

This misses the point, I think, because it fails to grasp Germanus' methodology, the whole basis of his symbol-system. For the problem of later medieval liturgical allegory consists not in the multiplicity of systematically layered symbols, such as we find here and in patristic exegesis. The later one-symbol-per-object correspondence results not from the tidying up of an earlier incoherent primitiveness, but from the decomposition of the earlier patristic mystery-theology into a historicizing system of dramatic narrative allegory. All levels—Old Testament preparation, Last Supper, accomplishment on Calvary, eternal heavenly offering, present liturgical event—must be held in dynamic unity by any interpretation of the eucharist. To separate these levels, then parcel out the elements bit by bit according to some chronologically consecutive narrative sequence, is to turn ritual into drama, symbol into allegory, mystery into history.

This is crucial: allegory represents the breakdown of metaphorical language, at least in the pejorative sense in which the term allegory is used in reference to the

[126] Demus, *op. cit.* (note 1 *supra*), 15.

later medieval commentaries.[127] The precise genius of metaphorical language is to hold in dynamic tension several levels of meaning simultaneously.[128] In this sense, one and the same eucharistic table *must be* at once Holy of Holies, Golgotha, tomb of the resurrection, cenacle, and heavenly sanctuary of the Letter to the Hebrews. Germanus' timid allegorical forays out from this center are by no means arbitrary (the ciborium as Golgotha, the ambo as the stone of proclamation), and do not detract from the basic unity of mystery and symbol. This is not to say that his every expression is felicitous, that he never treads the thin ice of allegory. But he rejects the later temptation of the historicizing decomposition of the unitary mystery into the component parts of its actual historical enactment.[129] So it is not the multiplicity of meanings but the attempt to parcel them out that can lead to an artificial literalism destructive of symbol and metaphor, and this is precisely what Germanus refuses to do. In so refusing he is simply remaining faithful to what J. Daniélou, great student that he was of the patristic literature of liturgical explanation, indicated as the unitive vision of these monuments of Christian culture:

> The Christian faith has only one object: the mystery of Christ dead and risen. But this unique mystery subsists under different modes: it is prefigured in the Old Testament, it is accomplished historically in the earthly life of Christ, it is contained in mystery in the sacraments, it is lived mystically in souls, it is accomplished socially in the Church, it is consummated eschatologically in the heavenly kingdom. Thus the Christian has at his disposition several registers, a multi-dimensional symbolism, to express this unique reality. The whole of Christian culture consists in grasping the links that exist between Bible and Liturgy, Gospel and Eschatology, Mysticism and Liturgy. The application of this method to scripture is called spiritual exegesis; applied to liturgy it is called mystagogy. This consists in reading in the rites the mystery of Christ, and in contemplating beneath the symbols the invisible reality.[130]

The proof of the success of Germanus' synthesis is its viability: for over six hundred years it reigned with undisputed primacy over the field of Byzantine liturgical explanation. Not until the new fourteenth-century synthesis of the hesychast epoch, represented in the liturgical codification of Patriarch Philotheus Kokkinos' diataxis, and in the commentary of Nicholas Cabasilas, did Germanus' dominance meet a worthy challenger.[131] But by then the quasi-official status of Germanus' *History* was already secure, and he was not displaced from his primacy by Cabasilas until the latter's discovery by the West.[132]

[127] Cf. *supra*, notes 62, 72.
[128] See D. Stevick, "The Language of Prayer," *Worship*, 52 (1978), 547ff.
[129] As happens in the later *Protheoria* (mid-eleventh century). See Bornert, *Commentaires*, 203ff., 241; Schulz, *Liturgie*, 150ff. But this historico-dramatic view of liturgy never reached the proportions that it did in the medieval West (cf. Jungmann, "Arianism," 48–80 *passim*), which is undoubtedly why medieval liturgical drama is chiefly a Western phenomenon, though it is not entirely unknown in Byzantium. See M. Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 171–211, and the literature cited there, to which add S. Baud-Bovy, "Le théâtre religieux, Byzance et l'occident," Ἑλληνικά, 28 (1975), 328–49; and, on the whole question of drama and liturgy, B.-D. Berger, *Le drame liturgique de Pâques. Liturgie et théâtre*, Théologie historique, 37 (Paris, 1976).
[130] J. Daniélou, "Le symbolisme des rites baptismaux," *Dieu vivant*, 1 (1945), 17.
[131] Cf. *supra*, note 5.
[132] On Germanus' influence in the West, see Bornert, *Commentaires*, 243–44.

Longevity is, of course, no patent of theological or liturgical suitability, and Germanus' synthesis has its weaknesses. In particular, his introduction of the Antiochene burial-motif displaced the focal point of the eucharistic ritual from its true culmination in anaphora and communion, shifting it back to a new climax at the transfer of gifts. The decline in frequent communion from the fourth century, and the silent recitation of the anaphora from at least the sixth, were undoubtedly responsible for the minimal role assigned them in the *Mystagogy* of Maximus.[133] Germanus actually goes a long way to redress the balance, giving the anaphora a far more central place than his predecessor did. But it cannot be denied that his commentary simply peters out at the Our Father, and the eucharistic communion plays in it no ritual role whatever.

This shift of focus was to provoke later secondary developments in the transfer and deposition rites.[134] More important, it became a determining factor in the incipient theology and developing ritual of the prothesis or preparation of the gifts before the Liturgy of the Word.[135] These were the major developments of the Byzantine eucharistic liturgy after Germanus, and they were largely conditioned by his work. But that is a problem not of Germanus' forebears, but of his heirs.

[133] Cf. *supra*, note 64.
[134] See Taft, *Great Entrance*, 245ff.
[135] Cf. *ibid.*, 37; Dix, 282ff.; Schulz, *Liturgie*, 113–18, 162–64.

II

The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church according to a Twelfth-Century Diataxis in Codex *British Museum Add. 34060* (*)

I. INTRODUCTION

Early Byzantine euchology MSS, especially those of Constantinopolitan provenance, contain almost no rubrics at all (1). When by the 10th century the ceremonial of the Byzantine eucharist began to be codified in rubrics, these were sometimes incorporated into the liturgical text itself, especially in euchologies from Southern Italy and Sicily, and in Oriental versions of the liturgy (2). But in the Great Church it was rather the practice for these rubrics to be collected in a separate book, the διάταξις or *ordo*, similar to the Latin *caerimoniale* (3).

The diataxis tradition goes back to the 10th century at least. A. Jacob has shown how Leo Tuscan inserted into his 12th century Latin translation of the Chrysostom liturgy rubrics taken

(*) I am most grateful to Prof. Robert Murray S.J. of Heythrop College London, who was kind enough to verify in the MS several doubtful readings of my transcription of the text, and to Ugo Zanetti S.J. of the Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, who not only rendered the same service but also made valuable suggestions concerning the edition and interpretation of the text. N.B. for the list of abbreviations used in the references, see pp. 282-283.

(1) See for example codices *Barberini Gr. 336* (BRIGHTMAN, pp. 309-344); *Sevastianov 474* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, pp. 236-80). Cf. TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. XXXII-XXXIII.

(2) E.g. the 10th century *Euchology of Porfirij Uspenskij* (= codex *Leningrad 226*, KRASNOSEL'CEV, pp. 283-304); 11th century Georgian CHR in codex *Sinai Georg. 89* (*Version géorg.*); cf. TAFT, *Great Entrance*, p. XXXIII.

(3) TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. XXXV-XXXVIII.

from a diataxis of the 10th century or earlier (4). But our earliest extant diataxis of the complete liturgy is found on five 12th century parchment folia later incorporated into the largely 15th century codex *British Museum Add. 34060*. This document gives the order of the patriarchal eucharist of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) as it was celebrated in the 11th century.

The diataxis was previously edited in 1935 by Gennadios Arabatzoglou (1883-1956), Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Heliopolis and Theira, of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (5). But this edition is so defective and inaccessible that I thought it worthwhile to make available my (hopefully) more reliable transcription of this important source, made at the British Museum early in 1972 (6).

I give an English translation for purely pragmatic reasons. Although the Greek text is straightforward and not difficult, it does present a few problems of interpretation. My solutions to them are more conveniently presented via translation than by lengthy explanatory notes. Furthermore, documents are edited to be of use, and fewer and fewer are the students today who can handle with ease even simple rubrical Greek.

The Manuscript (7):

The MS is a large quarto codex, of the 15th century, but incorporating portions of an earlier MS. There are 588 folia, mostly paper in various hands of the 15th century, except for the older section (ff. 511-557, 563-579), written on vellum, in an early 12th century hand. The present f. 511 was originally numbered 478, but the 15th century numbering (496 etc.) has been substituted as far as 500 (present f. 515), after which the original foliation (483 etc.) continues unaltered.

(4) *La concélébration de l'anaphore à Byzance d'après le témoignage de Léon Toscan*, OCP 35 (1969) pp. 249-52.

(5) Heliopolis or Iuliopolis is in Galatia Prima, Theira is Thyatira in Lydia, both in western Asia Minor. On Metropolitan Gennadios, cf. *Θρησκευτική καὶ ἠθική ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* (Athens 1964) IV, 293-295.

(6) I left my work aside upon hearing that someone else was preparing an edition of the same document, but since nothing has appeared after several years, I decided to proceed with my own edition.

(7) See *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1888-1893* (London 1894) pp. 168-82; RICHARD, pp. 57-60.

This 12th century section is the one that interests us. It opens with our document on ff. 511r-515r, followed immediately on the same page (f. 515r) by a discussion of the origins of the Manichaean and Paulician doctrine (8) (Ἐξήγησις ὅθεν ἔφυ ἡ τῶν μανιχαίων καὶ τῶν παυλικιάνων αἵρεσις), a service for the reception of Manichaean converts (f. 517r-v) (9), and other varied material (10).

The Edition:

Since the interest of this edition is liturgical, I have divided and numbered the text according to liturgical units to facilitate liturgical reference and commentary. The usual errors of iotacism, dittography, haplography, spirit and accent form (not placement), are corrected without notice.

All other corrections are indicated thus:

⌜1 = corrected reading; MS reading in apparatus.
( ) = addition to fill a lacuna (blank space) left by the scribe.
⟨ ⟩ = addition to the text.
[ ] = explanatory addition to the English translation.

Where the MS text departs from the *textus receptus* of a liturgical piece, the latter reading is given in the notes.

We have unified the capricious orthography of certain terms by selecting one acceptable form that recurs in the MS, indicating this in the apparatus.

The English version is accompanied by explanatory titles and notes, and followed by a short liturgical commentary.

(8) This dualist heresy, parent of Bogomilism, was a 7th century revival of Manichaeism in superficially Christian garb, among the border population of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor and Armenia. At the end of the 11th century the Paulicians that had earlier been deported to Thrace rose against the empire and had to be put down by Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118), who held theological discussions with the Paulician leaders at their stronghold Philippopolis on the Marica in Thrace (= Plovdiv in Bulgaria) in 1114 and 1118. This period coincides with the date of our document. See R. JANIN, *Pauliciens*, DTC 12[1], 56-62; J. M. HUSSEY (ed.), *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV: *The Byzantine Empire*, part II (Cambridge 1967) pp. 191-192.

(9) *Incipit*: Προηγουμένης. cf. GOAR[2], pp. 700-701.

(10) Cf. above, note 7: to RICHARD's bibliog. add BZ 28 (1928) 38-67.

ABBREVIATIONS USED:

AUCHER = G. AUCHER, *La versione armena della Liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo*, *Chrysostomika*, 359-404.

BACHA = C. BACHA, *Notions générales sur les versions arabes de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome suivies d'une ancienne version inédite*, *Chrysostomika*, 405-471.

BAS = Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil.

BECK = H. G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1959.

BORNERT = R. BORNERT, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VIIe au XVe siècle* (= AOC, 9) Paris 1966.

BRAUN = J. BRAUN, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik*, Freiburg im B. 1907.

CHR = Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

Chrysostomika = *XPYCOCTOMIKA, Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo a cura del comitato per il XV° centenario della sua morte*, Rome 1908.

COCHLAEUS = J. COCHLAEUS, *Speculum antiquae deuotionis circa missam, et omnem alium cultum Dei: ex antiquis, et antea nunquam euulgatis per typographos autoribus, à Ioanne Cochlaeo laboriose collectum...* Mainz 1549.

DARROUZÈS = J. DARROUZÈS, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια de l'Église byzantine* (= AOC, 11) Paris 1970.

Dejanija = *Dejanija moskovskich soborov 1666-1667 godov*, II: *Kniga sobornych dejanij 1667 goda*, Moscow 1893.

DU CANGE = DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Graz 1958.

EM 6 = *Codex Karlsruhe Ettenheimmünster 6*, ed. R. ENGDAHL, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der byzantinischen Liturgie* (= *Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche*, 5) Berlin 1908.

FUNK = F. X. FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, 2 vols., Paderborn 1905.

KRASNOSEL'CEV = N. F. KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija o nekotorych liturgičeskich ruhopisej Vatikanskoj Bibliotehi*, Kazan 1885.

LAMPE = G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961.

MATEOS, *Célébration* = J. MATEOS, *La célébration de la Parole dans la Liturgie byzantine* (= OCA, 191) Rome 1971.

MATEOS, *Typicon* = ID. *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix No. 40. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, 2 vols. (= OCA, 165-166) Rome 1962-63.

MATHEWS = T. F. MATHEWS, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, Penn. State Univ. Press 1971.

MERCIER = B.-CH. MERCIER, *La liturgie de S. Jacques* (= PO 26, fasc. 2) Paris 1946.

Otranto = A. JACOB, *La traduction de la Liturgie de s. Basile par Nicolas d'Otrante*, *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, fasc. 38 (1967) 49-107.

PAPAS = T. PAPAS, *Studien zur Geschichte der Messgewänder im byzantinischen Ritus* (= *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 3) Munich 1965.

RICHARD = M. RICHARD, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs du British Museum*, I (= *Publications de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, III) Paris 1952.

STRUBE = C. STRUBE, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit* (= *Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa*, Bd. 6) Wiesbaden 1973.

TAFT, *Great Entrance* = R. TAFT, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (= OCA, 200) Rome 1975.

TAFT, *Liturgies* = ID. *How Liturgies Grow: The Evolution of the Byzantine "Divine Liturgy,"* OCP 43 (1977) 355-78.

TREMPELAS = P. N. TREMPELAS, *Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας* (= *Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie*, 15) Athens 1935.

Tuscan = A. JACOB, *La traduction de la Liturgie de s. Jean Chrysostome par Léon Toscan. Édition critique*, OCP 32 (1966) 111-162.

VERPEAUX = J. VERPEAUX (ed.), PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité des offices. Introduction, texte et traduction* (= *Le monde byzantin*, 1) Paris 1966.

Version géorg. = A. JACOB, *Une version géorgienne inédite de la Liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome*, Mus 77 (1964) 65-119.

VOGT = A. VOGT (ed.), CONSTANTIN VII PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, *Le Livre des cérémonies*, 2 tomes (= *Collection byzantine*) Paris 1935.

XYDIS = S. G. XYDIS, *The Chancel Barrier, Solea and Ambo of Hagia Sophia*, *The Art Bulletin* 29 (1947) 1-24.

II. TEXT

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Τάξις τῆς ἁγίας λειτουργίας κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας

I. 1. Λαβόντος τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου καιρόν, γίνεται ἡ ἔναρξις καὶ ᾄδονται τὰ ἀντίφωνα. **2.** Καὶ ὅτε ἐπιστῇ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς εἰσόδου, καθήμενος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς πρὸ τῶν ὡραίων πυλῶν καὶ προσκυνεῖ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τρίτον. **3.** Εἶτα εἰπόντος τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου τοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον κατέχοντος· *Τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν*, καὶ τῶν περιεστηκότων εἰπόντων· *Κύριε ἐλέησον*, κλίνει μικρὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Γέαυτὸν[1] καὶ ἐπεύχεται τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην· *Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*: **4.** Εἶτα ἀσπάζεται τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἄνευ προσκυνήσεως, καὶ χειροκρατούμενος ὑπὸ δύο ἀρχόντων, εἰσοδεύων εἰσέρχεται ἄχρι τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν. **5.** Ἐκεῖσέ τε προσκυνήσας καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐν τῷ Γἁρμῷ ἐρ' ἡνίαν[2]

[1] αὐτὸν
[2] ἁρμοεφηνίῳ

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(11) On the history of this office see H. LECLERCQ, *Archidiacre*, DACL 1[1], 2733-36; BECK, pp. 99-100 and the references given there; DARROUZÈS, index: "archidiacre" p. 590. By the time of our document the archdeacon was simply the senior deacon and his role was purely liturgical (BECK, pp. 114-15).

(12) The ὡραῖαι πύλαι are the central doors that lead from the narthex into the nave of the church, also called "Great Doors" (μεγάλαι πύλαι), "Royal Doors" (βασιλικαὶ πύλαι) in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, not to be confused with the "Holy Doors" (ἅγια θύρια) of the sanctuary, nor with the "Beautiful Door" (ὡραία πύλη = singular) that led into the exonarthex of Hagia Sophia. See THEODORE STUDITES († 826), *Hypotyposis*, PG 99, 1706 (this work in its present form is later than Theodore; cf. BECK p. 494); MATEOS, *Typicon* II, Index liturgique, p. 318; *De cerimoniis* (10th c.), VOGT I, 1, pp. 10-13; 9, pp. 58-60; 10, p. 69; 31 (22) p. 117; 32(33) pp. 122-3; 35(26) pp. 134-5; 39(30) pp. 154-5; 44 (35) p. 170; and CONSTANTINI PORPHYROGENITI, *De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. J. REISKE (= CSHB) Bonn 1825, I, Appendix, p. 502; NICETAS CHONIATES († c. 1212), *Historia*: Alexius III Angelus (1195-1203) Book I, ed. I. BEKKER (= CSHB) Bonn 1835, p. 603; PS.-CODINUS, *De officiis* (c. 1350-1360), ed. VERPEAUX, V, p. 247; VII, pp. 259, 265; archieraticon of Gemistos (c. 1380), DMITR II, pp. 303-305, 310, 317-18, 320; Andreas Skete codex (15th c.), DMITR I, pp. 168-9. On this whole question see STRUBE, pp. 40, 46-52. According to Strube (p. 40) this terminology does not appear in the 6th century sources.

(13) Prayer of the Introit or "Little Entrance" = BRIGHTMAN, p. 368, 3-12 (without "Kyrie eleison").

(14) ἄρχων was a general and hence confusingly ambiguous title of the lower clergy (priests, deacons, subdeacons, readers), some of whom, at least, fulfilled liturgical functions. *The Apostolic Constitutions* II, 28 applies the title to bishops (ed. FUNK I, p. 109). By the time of our document some of these titles were purely honorific. See DARROUZÈS pp. 88 ff, 117 ff, and index, p. 591; BECK pp. 109, 113.

(15) I.e. of the sanctuary chancel (cf. note 12).

(16) Apparently there were icons on the jambs to the right and left of the holy doors, which were kissed by clergy upon entering the sanctuary at the introit as is customary today in some churches; or perhaps there was an icon on each leaf of the double doors at the point where they joined. This may be the meaning of the archieraticon of Gemistos, which says that the patriarch kisses the door itself (DMITR II, p. 305). The Andreas Skete codex also seems to place the icons on the doors (DMITR I, p. 169).

III. TRANSLATION

Order of the Holy Liturgy according to the Rite of the Great Church

[I. Enarxis and Introit]

I. 1. When the archdeacon (11) has received permission, the enarxis begins and the antiphons are sung. **2.** And when the time comes for the introit, the bishop is seated before the beautiful doors (12) and bows three times to the east. **3.** Then after the archdeacon who is carrying the holy Gospel says, "*Let us pray to the Lord*," and those standing nearby say, "*Kyrie eleison*," the bishop bows slightly and prays this prayer: "*O Master, Lord our God . . .*" (13) **4.** Then he kisses the Gospel without bowing, and supported by two archontes (14) he enters and goes up to the holy doors. (15) **5.** And after bowing to them and kissing the holy icon in the joint to the left, (16) he goes into

ἁγίαν εἰκόνα, εἴσεισιν εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον. 6. Καὶ προσκυνήσας ἅπαξ τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν, ἀσπάζεται τὴν ἐνδυτὴν ἀνέχοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ κανστρησίου, καὶ ἵσταται ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης. 7. Καὶ λαβόντος τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου καιρόν, δοξάζουσιν οἱ ψάλται καὶ τελοῦσι τὴν ἀκολουθίαν κατὰ τύπον.

II. 1. Εἶτα πάλιν ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος, ἀνέχων τὸ ὡράριον αὐτοῦ, λέγει· *Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα.* Καὶ σφραγίζων τοῦτον, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου λέγει· *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.* 2. Καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου εἰπόντος τὸ *Ἀμήν*, ἀπάρχονται οἱ ψάλται τοῦ τρισαγίου. 3. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεύς, προσκυνήσας, λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην· *Ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος*: 4. Καὶ εἰ μὲν οὐκ Ἔστι[3] λιτή, γίνεται πρότερον συναπτή· εἰ δὲ Ἐστι[4] λιτή, οὐδ' ὅλως γίνεται συναπτή. 5. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὴν εὐχήν, δίδωσι τὸ Κοντάκιον[5] τῷ κανστρησίῳ. 6. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δοξᾶσαι τοὺς ψάλτας, ἔρχεται ὁ κανστρήσιος καὶ δίδωσιν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ τὰ πηνία. 7. Ὁ δὲ κατέχων αὐτά, προσκυνεῖ ἐκ τρίτου λέγων καθ' ἑαυτόν· *Κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, ἐπίβλεψον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἴδε καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι τὴν ἄμπελον ταύτην καὶ κατάρτισαι αὐτήν, ἣν ἐφύτευσεν*

[3] ἔτι
[4] ἔτι
[5] κοντάκιν

II. 7. Ps 79:15-16a: Ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, ἐπίστρεψον δή, ἐπίβλεψον etc.

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(17) On the altar cloth, see P. SPECK, *Die ἐνδυτή: literarische Quellen zur Bekleidung des Altars in der byzantinischen Kirche*, *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 15 (1966) 323-75. There was a sacred image on the cloth that was kissed (*De cerimoniis*, VOGT I, 1, p. 11).

(18) A dignitary who assisted the patriarch in vesting, etc. See DARROUZÈS, index, p. 602, DU CANGE, 576; BECK, p. 118.

(19) I.e. of the third antiphon, before the final troparion. On the psalmists, see MATEOS, *Typicon* II, pp. 328-9. In Hagia Sophia there was no real "choir" but only a small nucleus of psalmists to lead the singing of the refrains. According to the *Code of Justinian*, in the 6-7th century there were no more than 25 psalmists to serve the three patriarchal churches of Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene and Chalkoprateia (*Novella* 3, 1, *Corpus iuris civilis*, ed. R. SCHOELL-G. KROLL, Berlin 1899, III, p. 21). Their customary place in Hagia Sophia was in the chamber beneath the huge ambo raised on eight columns in the center of the church (cf. TAFT, *Great Entrance*, p. 79 note 209; MATHEWS, p. 98; reconstruction of the ambo in XYDIS).

(20) I.e. of the enarxis.

the sanctuary. 6. And after bowing once to the holy altar, he kisses the altar-cloth (17) held up to him by the castrensis, (18) and stands before the holy altar. 7. And when the archdeacon has received permission, the psalmists chant the doxology (19) and conclude the office (20) according to the ritual.

[II. Trisagion and Procession to the Throne]

II. 1. Then again the archdeacon, raising his orarion, says, "*Bless, master.*" And blessing him, the bishop says in the hearing of the archdeacon, "*Blessed is our God always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages, amen.*" (21) 2. And after the archdeacon says, "*Amen,*" the psalmists begin the Trisagion. 3. The bishop, bowing, says this prayer: "*Holy God...*" (22) 4. And if there is no rogation, there is first a synapté; (23) but if there is a rogation, there is no synapté. 5. And after saying the prayer, he gives the scroll to the castrensis. 6. After the psalmists chant the doxology, (24) the castrensis goes and gives the candles (25) to the bishop. 7. And he, holding them, bows thrice, saying to himself: "*Lord God of powers, look down from heaven and see, and look upon this vine and restore it, which your*

(21) This and similar blessings that recur throughout the diataxis (**II. 1; III. 2, 6, 7; V. 7; VI. 3; IX. 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23**) are not an integral part of the text of the liturgy. They express, rather, a form of ritual courtesy still practiced today in the liturgies of several traditions. In Byzantine usage ministers customarily request permission to begin a ritual action — thereby also giving the signal that it is time (καιρός) to do so — with the words, "Bless master." And the celebrant indicates his beneplacit with a blessing. The bishop also gives a blessing when incensed, etc. (**V. 8**). Cf. TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 236-40; MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 299 (καιρός); *Célébration*, pp. 96-7.

(22) Prayer of the Trisagion (= BRIGHTMAN, pp. 369, 20-370, 15).

(23) I.e. the "great synapté" or "litany of peace" commonly found in Byzantine services (= *ibid.*, pp. 362, 30-363, 24). Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* II, pp. 297, 320. On the rogation, see the liturgical commentary below, part II.

(24) I.e. of the Trisagion.

(25) These are undoubtedly the dikérion and trikérion or two candelabra, one with two, the other with three candles, with which the bishop gives solemn blessings in the Byzantine rite. Πηνίον, though not a common word for this instrument, is found also in the rite for the washing of the altar on Holy Thursday in GOAR², pp. 499, 500 note 12, and DU CANGE, 1165.

ἡ δεξιά σου. Καὶ εἰς τὴν δευτέραν προσκύνη⟨σιν⟩ πάλιν τὸ αὐτό. Εἰς δὲ τὴν τρίτην προσκύνησιν λέγει· *Τριὰς ἁγία ἐπίβλεψον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἴδε καὶ ἐπίσκεψον τὴν ἄμπελον ταύτην καὶ κατάρτισαι αὐτήν, ἣν*
511v *ἐφύτευσεν ἡ δεξιά σου.* **8.** Καὶ μετὰ || τὴν τρίτην προσκύνησιν, σφραγίζει ἅπαξ μέσον τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης, καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὰ πηνία καὶ δεσμήσας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, ἵσταται. **9.** Τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἔρχεται εἷς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ εὐωνύμου μέρους, καὶ ἐπιδίδωσι τούτῳ τὸ κανστρίον καὶ προσκυνήσας, ὑποχωρεῖ. **10.** Κατέχοντος δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἔρχεται παραυτίκα ὁ δευτερεύων ἢ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος, καὶ προσκυνήσας καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀσπασάμενος, ἀναλαμβάνεται τοῦτο. **11.** Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρχιδιάκονος καὶ ὁ κανστρήσιος ἀπέρχονται ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης καὶ προσκυνήσαντες, ἵστανται ἀναμένοντες. **12.** Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιδιάκονος ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τῶν κιονίων καὶ προσκυνήσας ἐκ τρίτου, ἵσταται. **13.** Καὶ τοῦ τελευταίου τ ρ ι σ α γ ί ο υ ᾀδομένου παρὰ τῶν ψαλτῶν, καλεῖ τὸν ἀρχιερέα πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν διὰ προσκυνήσεως. **14.** Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς προσκυνήσας καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὴν κρηπῖδα καὶ ἀσπασάμενος, πορεύεται ἐπάνω τῆς κρηπῖδος. **15.** Καὶ πρὸς τὸ Γτέλος[5a] κατελθὼν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εὑρίσκει τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τὸν Γκανστρήσιον[6] ἐκεῖσε ἑστῶτας, καὶ χειροκρατούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνέρχεται, τοῦ διακόνου προπορευομένου. **16.** Ὅτε οὖν ἐγγίσει τῷ συνθρόνῳ τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου εἰπόντος· *Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, τὴν καθέδραν*, λέγει ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· *Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου, πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*: **17.** Εἶτα ἀνελθὼν ἐν τῷ συνθρόνῳ καὶ προσκυνήσας καὶ ἀσπασάμενος, ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὸν λαόν. **18.** Καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἔτι τὸ τ ρ ι σ ά γ ι ο ν ᾄδοντος, σφραγίζει αὐτὸν τρίτον, τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου σιγήσαντος πρότερον.

[5a] τελει

[6] καστρήσιον

16. Blessing of the throne = BRIGHTMAN, p. 370, 28-33, *textus receptus*: Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ πάντοτε ...

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(26) This and the following verse are an adaptation of Ps 79 (80): 15-16a. See the liturgical commentary below.

(27) Literally "canister". It was in the care of the castrensis. See DARROUZÈS, pp. 546 (9), 553 (9), 566 (82), 551 (8).

(28) I.e. The deacon second in rank to the archdeacon, still an important title among the patriarchal clergy of Constantinople. Cf. DARROUZÈS, pp. 177-8 and index, p. 595; BECK pp. 114-15. K. M. RHALLES, *Περὶ τοῦ δευτερεύοντος τῶν διακόνων*, *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 11 (1936) 12-14, lists his functions.

(29) I.e. the platform on which the altar stood, also referred to in other sources, especially for patriarchal rites of the Great Church such as ordinations. Cf. codices *Barberini Gr. 336*, f. 159r; *Paris Coislin Gr. 213*, f. 25v; *Grottaferrata Gb I*, ff. 39v, 41r; *Sinai Gr. 956*, DMITR II, p. 17; the archieraticon of Gemistos, *ibid.*, p. 305; GOAR², pp. 238, 249, 251; etc.

(30) Cf. apparatus.

(31) See the commentary for the meaning of this rubric.

right hand has planted." (26) And at the second bow, again the same. At the third bow he says: "*Holy Trinity, look down from heaven and see, and look upon this vine and restore it, which your right hand has planted.*" **8.** And after the third bow, he blesses once in the center of the holy altar and gives back the candles, and joining his hands, stands there. **9.** Then one of the archontes of the left side comes and gives him the thurible, (27) and after bowing, withdraws. **10.** And while the bishop is holding this, the second deacon (28) or the archdeacon comes immediately, and after bowing and kissing his hand, takes it. **11.** And the archdeacon and the castrensis withdraw to in front of the holy altar, and after bowing, stand waiting. **12.** But the archdeacon goes away to the right side of the columns, and after bowing three times, stands there. **13.** And when the last T r i s a g i o n is being sung by the psalmists, he summons the bishop to the throne with a bow. **14.** The bishop bows and mounts the platform, (29) and after kissing [the altar] he traverses the platform. **15.** And toward the conclusion [of the Trisagion] he descends from it, goes up to the archdeacon and castrensis standing there, and supported by them he ascends [to the throne], preceded by the deacon. **16.** When he approaches the synthronon, after the archdeacon says, "*Bless, master, this throne,*" the bishop says: "*Blessed are you, seated on the throne of the glory of your kingdom, always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages.*" (30) **17.** Then he ascends the synthronon, and after bowing and kissing [the throne], he turns to the people. **18.** And while the people are singing the T r i s a g i o n again, he blesses them thrice, after the archdeacon has first become silent. (31)

III. 1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ σφραγίσαι, τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου εἰπόντος· *Πρόσχωμεν*, λέγει ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· *Εἰρήνη πᾶσι*, καὶ οὕτως κάθηται. 2. Καὶ τοῦ ψάλτου ψάλλοντος τὸ προκείμενον, κατὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ δευτέρου στίχου ἐπιζητεῖ καιρὸν ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος, καὶ σφραγίζων αὐτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγει· *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε, νῦν*: 3. Καὶ ἀναγινωσκομένου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ἐπιζητεῖ καιρὸν καὶ εὐχὴν ὁ διάκονος
512r εἰς ‖ τὸν ὀφείλοντα εὐαγγελίσασθαι. 4. Ὁ δὲ σφραγίζων αὐτὸν ἅπαξ σχολαιότερον ὅσον πληρῶσαι τὴν εὐχὴν [τῆς σφραγῖδος][7] λέγει εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου· *Κύριος δώῃ σοι ῥῆμα τοῖς εὐαγγελιζομένοις δυνάμει πολλῇ, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν δυνάμεων, τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τῇ αὐτοῦ ⟨υἱοῦ⟩ χάριτι πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.* 5. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέλευσιν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἐκ τῶν συγκαθημένων ἀρχιερέων ἐγερθεὶς εἷς, ἀπέρχεται πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸν πρῶτον, καὶ προσκυνήσας, ἀσπάζεται τὸ γόνυ, καὶ οὕτως πάλιν προσκυνήσας, λέγει· *Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα.* 6. Καὶ δίδωσιν καιρὸν αὐτῷ εἰρηνεῦσαι κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, λέγων· *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, πάντοτε*: 7. Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν δεύτερον στίχον τοῦ ἀλληλούϊα ἐπιζητεῖ καιρὸν ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος λέγων· *Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα*, καὶ λέγει ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*: 8. Ἐπιζητεῖ δὲ τηνικαῦτα καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ θυμιάματος τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου. 9. Ὁ δέ γε ἀρχιερεὺς σφραγίζει τὸν ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης ἑστῶτα διάκονον καὶ ὑποδεικνύων τὸ θυμίαμα, λέγων· *Θυμίαμά σοι προσφέρω*: 10. Τοῦ δὲ τελευταίου ἀλληλούϊα λεγομένου, ὁ μὲν κανστρήσιος ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ ὠμοφόριον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. 11. Ὁ δὲ ἀνίσταται καὶ στρέφεται πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κλίνων ἕως τῆς [καθέδρας][8] ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἕως ἂν ἐκφωνήσῃ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος· *Σοφία, ὀρθοί, ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου.* 12. Οὗπερ ἔτι λεγομένου, ἀνίσταται, κάτω ἔχων τὸ [φαινόλιον][9] αὐτοῦ

[7] τῇ σφραγίδῃ
[8] καθέδρης
[9] φαιλώνιον

III. 4. Blessing of the deacon(s) who is to read the gospel (= BRIGHTMAN, p. 372, 14-19, *textus receptus*: Ὁ θεὸς διὰ πρεσβειῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ (τοῦδε) δώῃ σοι ῥῆμα τῷ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ δυνάμει πολλῇ εἰς ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ κυρίου δὲ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

9. Prayer of Incense = *ibid.*, p. 359, 34-36 (prothesis), *textus receptus*: προσφέρομεν.

11. The *textus receptus* adds εἰρήνη πᾶσι = *ibid.*, p. 372, 30.

[III. Scriptural Lessons and Psalmody]

III. 1. After the blessing, when the archdeacon has said, *"Let us be attentive"*, the bishop says, *"Peace to all,"* and then sits down. **2.** And while the psalmist is chanting the prokeimenon, (32) after the end of the second verse, the archdeacon requests leave and the bishop, blessing him, says, *"Blessed is our God, always, now..."* **3.** And while the Apostle is being read, the deacon requests leave and a prayer for the one about to read the Gospel. **4.** And he [the bishop], blessing him once, very slowly, for as long as it takes to complete the prayer of blessing, says in the hearing of the archdeacon: *"May the Lord the King of Powers grant you speech for announcing the Gospel with great power, by the grace of his beloved ⟨Son⟩ always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages.* (33) **5.** After the exit of the Gospel one of the seated bishops, having risen, goes to the first bishop and bowing, kisses [his] knee, and then bowing again, says, *"Bless, master."* **6.** And [the first bishop] grants him leave to give the greeting of peace after the Apostle, saying, *"Blessed is our God, always..."* **7.** But at the second verse of the alleluia the archdeacon also requests leave, saying. *"Bless, master"*. And the bishop says, *"Blessed is our God..."* **8.** And he requests at the same time also the Prayer of Incense of the holy Gospel. **9.** And the bishop blesses the deacon who is standing facing the holy altar and showing the incense, saying, *"I offer you incense..."* (34) **10.** While the last alleluia is being sung, the castrensis takes off the bishop's omophorion. (35) **11.** And he stands and turns to the east and bows down his head to the throne for a short time until the archdeacon exclaims, *"Wisdom, arise, let us listen to the holy Gospel."* (36) **12.** While the same is still being said,

(32) The responsorial psalm (= BRIGHTMAN, p. 371, 3-6). Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* II, pp. 316-17; *Célébration*, pp. 7-13, 133-4.

(33) Cf. apparatus.

(34) Cf. apparatus. The *textus receptus* gives this prayer only for the initial blessing of incense at the prothesis.

(35) On the bishop's vestments, see the commentary.

(36) Cf. apparatus and commentary.

καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς βλέπων. **13.** Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ τὸ *Δόξα σοι, κύριε* λέγοντος, καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο λέγει καθ' ἑαυτόν, ἐντὸς τοῦ Γφαινολίου[10] τὰς χεῖρας αἴροντος. **14.** Καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν μετὰ τὸ τελειωθῆναι τὸ ε ὐ α γ γ έ λ ι ο ν, λέγει πρὸς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν πραείᾳ φωνῇ· *Εἰρήνη σοι.* **15.** Καὶ τηνικαῦτα κάτεισι διὰ τοῦ εὐωνύμου χειροκρατούμενος. **16.** Καταλαβόντες δὲ ἔγγιστα τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης ἐῶσι τοῦτον οἱ ἄρχοντες. **17.** Ὁ δέ, προσκυνήσας καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ἕνα τῶν τιμίων σταυρῶν, ἄπεισι διὰ τοῦ εὐωνύμου μέρους κάτωθεν τῆς κρηπῖδος ὑδεύων, δεδεμένας δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἔχων τοῦ Γφαινολίου[11]
512v ἄνωθεν ὄντος, ‖ ἔρχεται καὶ ἵσταται ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης. **18.** Καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων διακόνων ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους ἐλθόντων, καὶ προσκυνησάντων ἐπὶ τῆς κρηπῖδος, γίνεται σφραγὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως.

IV. 1. Εἶτα ἀναγινώσκεται τὸ κ ι τ α τ ώ ρ ι ο ν, καὶ εἶτα λαβόντος καιρὸν τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου, λέγονται παρὰ τοῦ διακόνου αἱ α ἰ τ ή σ ε ι ς πᾶσαι πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐ κ τ ε ν ή. **2.** Καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκφωνοῦντος τὸ *Κύριε ἐλέησον*, εἶτα ἐκτεταμένας ἔχων ἐπὶ μικρὸν πρὸς δέησιν τὰς χεῖρας, λέγει τρίτον τὸ *Κύριε ἐλέησον*. **3.** Εἶτα λαμβάνει

[10] φαιλονίου
[11] φαιλονίου

14. *Textus receptus*: Εἰρήνη σοι τῷ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ = BRIGHTMAN, p. 372, 38-39.

([37]) Note that the bishop is wearing the phelonion and not the sakkos (see commentary). Formerly the cone-shaped phelonion was not cut away in front to free the hands, as now, but hung to the ground evenly all around, and the celebrant had to gather it up in front in order to free his hands for ritual gestures. Hence the frequent references below to "raising" or "letting down" the phelonion, or to ritual gestures "inside" or "outside" the phelonion (cf. **III. 13, 17; V. 3; VI. 1, 4; VII. 2; X. 21, 24; XI. 1**).

([38]) Cf. apparatus.

([39]) The κιτατώριον (Latin: *citatorium*) was the official formula of promotion to orders. The more common term in the MSS is χάρτης, χαρτίον (cf. *Barberini Gr. 336*, f. 159r; *Paris Coislin Gr. 213*, ff. 25v, 27v; *Grottaferrata Gb I*, f. 39v; GOAR², pp. 244, 249, 251; I. HABERT, *ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ: Liber pontificalis ecclesiae graecae* (Paris 1693) p. 316. See DARROUZÈS, pp. 149, 161, 213, 337, 369, 372). In sources after the 10th century the document is presented by the chartophylax (on this office cf. DARROUZÈS, pp. 334 ff; E. HERMAN, *Chartophylax*, DDC 3, 621-6; BECK, pp. 109-111) whose office it was to present candidates for ordination (*Paris Coislin Gr. 213*, f. 25v; archieraticon of Gemistos, DMITR II, p. 319; SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *De sacris ordinationibus* 246, PG 155, 465; GOAR², pp. 244, 256-7 and note 3; cf. DARROUZÈS, pp. 149, 337, 369). It is not clear why the reading of the *citatorium* is indicated here, after the reading of the Gospel. In traditional Byzantine usage bishops are ordained after the Trisagion, presbyters after the Great Entrance, deacons after the anaphora; subdiaconate is conferred outside the liturgy, before the enarxis begins (cf. GOAR², pp. 203, 208, 210, 242, 244, 249, 251). Promotions to honorary clerical dignities (archpriest, etc.) take place at the introit or "Little Entrance".

([40]) Although αἰτήσεις is also the technical term for the "angel of peace" litany (MATEOS, *Typicon* II, pp. 279, 297 (VII); TAFT, *Great Entrance*, ch. IX) it is used here in the general sense of litanic petitions, as in other Byzantine sources (see references in TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 329-30). This is clear from **IV. 4, 7**, below.

([41]) The ektené is the litany that follows the Gospel (= BRIGHTMAN, pp. 373-374). On its history, see MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 148-56; *Typicon* II, p. 293; TAFT, *Liturgies*, pp. 368-9.

he stands with his phelonion down, ([37]) and facing east. **13.** And when the people say the *"Glory to you O Lord..."* he too says it to himself, raising [his] hands inside the phelonion. **14.** And so, having turned to the evangelist after the completion of the Gospel, he says to the evangelist in a soft voice, *"Peace to you."* ([38]) **15.** And then he descends [from the throne] via the left [side], led by the hand. **16.** And when they have come near to the holy altar the archontes leave him. **17.** And he, after bowing and kissing one of the revered crosses, withdraws via the left side, going on the platform, with hands joined above the phelonion, [and] comes and stands facing the holy altar. **18.** And when the deacons who read the Gospel have come from the right side and bowed on the platform, a blessing is given them by the bishop.

[IV. The Litanies and Prayers]

IV. 1. Then the c a l l [t o o r d e r s] ([39]) is read, and then when the archdeacon has received permission, all the p e t i t i o n s ([40]) as well as the e k t e n é ([41]) are said by the deacon. **2.** And when the people exclaim the *"Kyrie eleison"*, then [the bishop], with hands raised slightly in prayer, says three times the *"Kyrie eleison"*. **3.** Then he takes the scroll from the

ἐκ τοῦ κανστρησίου τὸ κοντάκιον καὶ λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην· *Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὴν ἐκτενῆ*: 4. Καὶ λαβόντος καιρὸν τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου, λέγονται αἱ αἰτήσεις, εἰπόντος τοῦ διακόνου· *Ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ θεοφυλάκτων*: καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τὸ *Κύριε ἐλέησον*. 5. Τοῦ μὲν πρώτου *Κύριε ἐλέησον* ᾀδομένου, προσκυνεῖ· καὶ εἰς τὸ δεύτερον, ἄνεισιν εἰς τὴν κρηπῖδα καὶ ἀσπάζεται τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν. 6. Εἰς δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὸν λαόν, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπίλοιπα τρία σφραγίζει ἐν μέσον καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν· καὶ αὖθις ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ λέγει τὴν ἐκφώνησιν πάντων εἰς ἐπήκοον· *Ὅτι ἐλεήμων*: 7. Καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου λαβόντος πάλιν καιρὸν καὶ προτρεψαμένου τὸν [διάκονον[12], ἐκφωνεῖ τὰς αἰτήσεις. 8. Ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται καθ' ἑαυτὸν τὰς εὐχάς· *Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*: *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι: Πάλιν καὶ πολλάκις σοι: Ὅπως ὑπὸ*:

V. 1. Καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ εἰπόντος· *Ἀμήν*, ἄρχονται οἱ ψάλται τὸ χερουβικόν. 2. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς [προσιὼν[13] ἅπαξ καὶ ποιήσας ἐν ἑαυτῷ ⟨τὴν⟩ δέησιν, τοῦ χερουβικοῦ ᾀδομένου, (λέγει ἐν) ἑαυτῷ τὴν εὐχήν, τὸ *Οὐδεὶς ἄξιος*: 3. Πληρουμένης δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς ἐπιδίδωσι τὸ [κοντάκιον[14] τῷ κανστρησίῳ, καὶ χαλάσας τὸ φαινόλιον αὐτοῦ, δεσμήσας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, λέγει καθ' ἑαυτὸν τὸν χερουβικὸν ὕμνον. 4. Καὶ τούτου [τελειωθέντος[15], εἰ μὲν τὰ ἅγια καταλάβοι καλεῖται πρὸς τοῦ κανστρησίου διὰ προσκυνήσεως. 5. Ὁ δὲ προσκυνήσας ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ ἵσταται πλησίον τοῦ
513r κίονος βλέπων πρὸς τὰ δεξιά. 6. Τηνικαῦτα ἔρχεται ‖ ὁ διάκονος ἀντικρυς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἕτερον κίονα. 7. Καὶ προσκυνῶν, σφραγίζει ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, λέγων· *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*: 8. Καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων εἰσέρχεται ὁ διάκονος, καὶ θυμιῶν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ προσκυνῶν, σφραγίζεται παρ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*: 9. Τοῦ δὲ ἀρχιδιακόνου θυμιῶντος τὴν ἁγίαν τραπέζαν, εἰσέρχονται τὰ ἅγια, καὶ

[12] διάκονα
[13] προσῖων
[14] κοντάκιν
[15] τειλειωθέντος

(42) Prayer of the Ektené (= BRIGHTMAN, p. 373, 5-13).

(43) Petition for the emperor in the synapté (= *ibid.*, p. 363, 7-9), often found, as here, in the ektené (cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 149, 151).

(44) Ecphonesis (doxology) of the Prayer of the Ektené (= BRIGHTMAN, p. 374, 3-6).

(45) Prayer for the Catechumens; First and Second Prayer of the Faithful, with the latter's ecphonesis (= *ibid.*, pp. 374-376).

castrensis and reads this prayer: *"O Lord our God, the insistent..."* (42) **4.** And when the archdeacon has received permission, the petitions are said, after the deacon has said, *"For the most blessed and divinely-protected...,"* (43) and the people the *"Kyrie eleison."* **5.** At the singing of the first *"Kyrie eleison"* [the bishop] bows, and at the second he mounts the platform and kisses the holy altar. **6.** At the third he turns to the people, and at the remaining three he blesses once in the center, and to the left and to the right, and turns once again to the east and says the ecphonesis in the hearing of all: *"For a merciful..."* (44) **7.** And after the archdeacon has got permission again and urged him on, the deacon proclaims the petitions. **8.** The bishop prays to himself the prayers: *"O Lord our God ..."*; *"We thank you..."*; *"Again and repeatedly to you..."*; *"So that under..."* (45)

[V. The "Great Entrance": Transfer and Deposition of Gifts]

V. 1. And after the people say, *"Amen"*, the psalmists begin the Cherubicon. 2. And the bishop, coming forward at once and making within himself ⟨the⟩ supplication during the singing of the Cherubicon, (says to) himself the prayer: *"No one is worthy..."* (46) 3. When the prayer is finished he gives the scroll to the castrensis, and after letting down his phelonion [and] joining his hands, he says to himself the Cherubic Hymn. 4. And when this is done, if the gifts have arrived he is summoned by the castrensis with a bow. 5. After bowing, he withdraws and stands near the pillar, (47) facing right. 6. At the same time the deacon goes opposite him to the other pillar. 7. And bowing, the bishop blesses saying, *"Blessed is our God..."* 8. And the deacon enters with them [the gifts], and incensing the bishop and bowing, is blessed by him saying, *"Blessed is our God..."* 9. While the archdeacon is incensing the holy altar, the gifts come in and the bishop, bowed, prays to himself: *"Blessed*

(46) For the Cherubic Hymn and the prayer during it, see *ibid.*, pp. 377-378.

(47) I.e. of the ciborium over the altar. Cf. MATHEWS, p. 99. The archieraticon of Gemistos also refers to these pillars (DMITR II, p. 316).

ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπικλιθείς, ἐπεύχεται πρὸς ἑαυτόν· *Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, θεὸς κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν. Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε: Τῆς σοφίας ὁδηγέ:*

VI. 1. Ἀποτεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐπικαλυφθέντων, ἀποκαλύπτει τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ κανστρήσιος. **2.** Ὁ δὲ στρέφεται ἐπιδέξιος καὶ ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος ἀπονιψώμενος. **3.** Καὶ τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου εἰπόντος· *Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα,* ἀπονιπτόμενος λέγει· *Νίψομαι ἐν ἀθῴοις τὰς χεῖράς μου, καὶ κυκλώσω τὸ θυσιαστήριόν σου, κύριε, τοῦ ἀκοῦσαί με φωνὴν αἰνέσεώς σου, καὶ διηγήσασθαι πάντα τὰ ⌈θαυμάσιά[16] σου. Κύριε, ἠγάπησα εὐπρέπειαν οἴκου σου, καὶ τόπον σκηνώματος δόξης σου. Τῷ οἴκῳ σου πρέπει ἁγίασμα, κύριε, εἰς μακρότητα ἡμερῶν, πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

4. Καὶ ἐκμάξας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φαινόλιον χαλάσας, καλεῖται πρὸς τοῦ κανστρησίου διὰ προσκυνήσεως. **5.** Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἵσταται ἔγγιστα τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν, τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων συνεστώτων αὐτῷ, καὶ βάλλει μετάνοιαν προσευχόμενος. **6.** Εἰς δὲ τὴν τρίτην, κάτω νεύων ὀλίγον τὴν κεφαλήν, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐπευχομένων αὐτῷ οὕτως· *Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι· μνήσθητι ἡμῶν, δέσποτα·* ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγει ἄνευ σφραγῖδος· ⌈*Μνησθείη*[17] *ἡμῶν κύριος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας:*

[16] θαμάσιά
[17] μνήσθητι

6. *Orate fratres* dialogue based on Lk 1:35; 23:42. On the evolution of the considerably more developed *textus receptus* (= BRIGHTMAN, p. 380, 2-24) see TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 290 ff, esp. p. 295 for the place of this MS in the history of the text.

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(48) Ps 117(118): 26a, 27a; troparion of Pentecost; kontakion of Cheesefare Sunday (cf. Wis 7:15). See TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 244-6, 250, 253.

(49) Ps 25(26): 6-8; Ps 92(93): 5b-c; plus the usual conclusion ("always, now and ever...").

(50) Apparently our document, like most Byzantine sources, does not always use the term "priest" (ἱερεύς) in the restricted sense of "presbyter" (compare GERMANUS, *Historia ecclesiastica* 24, 26, 33, ed. N. BORGIA, *La "'Εξήγησις" di S. Germano e la versione latina di Anastasio Bibliotecario*, *Roma e l'oriente* 2 (1911) pp. 226, 228, 290, with 41, 43, *ibid.* pp. 294-95, 347-48, 350-51, 353, where we see a similar interchange of terms). It is clear that there is more than one bishop (ἀρχιερεύς) in the liturgy described in our MS (cf. **III, 5-6**), and since the *orate fratres* dialogue was traditionally between the main celebrant and his concelebrants (TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 291-304), I presume that "priests" has this general sense here and elsewhere, as will be indicated in the notes.

(51) Cf. apparatus.

is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the Lord is God and has appeared to us"; "O Heavenly King..."; "Guide of wisdom..."(48)

[VI. The "Accessus ad Altare": a. The Lavabo]

VI. 1. And when the gifts have been deposited and covered, the castrensis uncovers the hands of the bishop. **2.** And he, [standing] to the right, turns and withdraws to the left side to wash his hands. **3.** And after the subdeacon says, *Bless, master,*" he washes his hands, saying:

"I shall wash my hands among the innocent,
and I shall go about your altar, O Lord,
to hear the voice of your praise,
and to describe all your wonders.
O Lord, I have loved the majesty of your house,
and the dwelling place of your glory.
Holiness befits your house, O Lord,
unto length of days,
always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages.
Amen." (49)

[b. The "Orate fratres"]

4. And after drying his hands and letting down the phelonion, he is summoned by the castrensis with a bow. **5.** And after withdrawing, he stands near the holy doors, with the other priests (50) joining him on the right and on the left, and bowing down, he prays. **6.** And at the third [bow], while he bows down [his] head a little and the priests pray to him as follows: *"May the Holy Spirit come down upon you, and the power of the Most High overshadow you. Remember us, master,"* the bishop says without a blessing, *"May the Lord remember us in his kingdom always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages".* (51)

7. Καὶ οὕτως ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν. 8. Καὶ προσκυνήσας, δούς τε τῷ ἀρχιδιακόνῳ καιρόν, καὶ τούτου πάλιν τῷ διακόνῳ ⟨ἐπιστρέψαντος⟩, ἐπιτρέποντος αὐτῷ λέγειν τὰς αἰτήσεις, ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην· *Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντο⟨κράτωρ⟩:* 9. Καὶ ἐκφωνεῖ ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· *Διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου:*

VII. 1. *Εἰρήνη πᾶσι· Ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους.* 2. Καὶ τούτου
513v λεχθέντος, προσκυνεῖ ‖ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὴν κρηπῖδα ἀσπάζεται αὐτήν· κατελθὼν δὲ καὶ χαλάσας τὸ φαινόλιον αὐτοῦ, ἐπιστρέφει εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη καὶ ἵσταται. 3. Ἐρχόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἀσπάζονται τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν πρῶτον, εἶτα τὴν ⌈χεῖρα [18] τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τὴν ἀριστερὰν παρειάν, καὶ ἑξῆς ἀλλήλους.

4. Καὶ τοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ πληρωθέντος, ἐπιστρέφει πάλιν κατὰ ἀνατολάς, καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος· *Τὰς θύρας:* λέγει ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος· *Ἐν σοφίᾳ πρόσχωμεν.* 5. Καὶ οὕτως ψάλλει τὸ ἱερατεῖον μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ τὸ *Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεόν:*

VIII. 1. *Καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ μεγάλου:* 2. Ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐκφωνήσεως ἔτι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ἐκφωνουμένης, πρόσεισιν ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος καὶ ἐπιζητεῖ καιρόν. 3. Σφραγίζων τοῦτον μόνον, ἔτι τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπᾴδων ἐκφώνησιν, τοῦ δὲ ἀρχιδιακόνου τῷ διακόνῳ ἐπιστρέψαντος, καὶ τῶν αἰτήσεων παρ' ἐκείνου ὑπᾳδομένων, ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται· *Σοὶ παρακατίθημι:* 4. Καὶ ἐκφωνεῖ· *Καὶ καταξίωσ⟨ον⟩ ἡμᾶς:* 5. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐκτείνει μικρὸν τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς δέησιν, κατέχων ἐν τῇ λαιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ κοντάκιον ἐκτετυλιγμένον, λέγων πρὸς ἑαυτόν· *Πάτερ ἡμῶν:* 6. *Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.* 7. Ὁ λαός· *Εἷς ἅγιος:*

[18] χεῖραν

VII. 1. The *textus receptus* of the invitation to the *pax* (= BRIGHTMAN, p. 382, 22-25) has been developed into an introduction to the creed. See TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 381 ff.

(52) Prayer of the Proscomidé, with accompanying litany ("petitions") and ecphonesis (9) (= BRIGHTMAN, pp. 380, 25-382, 15).

(53) Greeting and invitation to the kiss of peace (= *ibid.*, p. 382, 20). Cf. apparatus.

(54) Here too "priests" must include the concelebrating bishops (cf. note 50). It is inconceivable that they were excluded from the *pax*. Cf. The archieraticon of Gemistos, DMITR II, p. 311, and TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 378 ff, 389 ff.

(55) Admonitions preceding the Creed (= BRIGHTMAN, p. 383, 3-4).

(56) The blessing after the anaphora (= *ibid.*, p. 390, 10-11), to which the document skips with no mention of the anaphora itself (see commentary).

[c. Accessus Prayer and Litany]

7. And thus he withdraws to the holy altar. 8. And after bowing [and] giving the archdeacon leave, and when the latter ⟨has turned⟩ again to the deacon, giving him permission to say the petitions, the priest says this prayer: *"Lord God, Pantocrator..."* (52) 9. And the bishop chants aloud: *"By the mercies of your only begotten Son..."*

[VII. The Kiss of Peace and Creed]

VII. 1. *"Peace to all." "Let us love one another."* (53) 2. And when that is said the bishop bows to the holy altar, and after mounting the platform, kisses it; then, after descending and letting down his phelonion, he turns to the right side and stands there. 3. And the priests (54) come up, kiss first the holy altar, then the bishop's hand and right cheek, and one another in turn.

4. And when the kiss is finished, [the bishop] turns again to the east, and when the deacon says, *"The doors..."*, the archdeacon says, *"In wisdom, let us be attentive"*. (55) 5. And thus the clergy chant with the laity the *"I believe in one God..."*

[VIII. Prayers before Communion]

VIII. 1. *"And may the mercies of our great..."* (56) 2. While this ecphonesis is still being chanted by the bishop, the archdeacon comes up and requests permission. 3. [The priest] blesses him once while still singing this same ecphonesis; and after the archdeacon has turned to the deacon, and while the petitions are being sung by the latter, the priest prays, *"To you I commend..."* (57) 4. And he chants aloud, *"And make us worthy..."* (58) 5. And the bishop raises his hands a little in prayer, holding in his left hand the unrolled scroll, saying to himself, *"Our Father..."* 6. *"Holy things for the Holy"*. 7. The people: *"One is holy..."* (59)

(57) Litany and prayer before the Our Father (= BRIGHTMAN, p. 390, 15 ff.). Here "priest" probably means the bishop just referred to in no. 2. For it is always the main celebrant who "gives permission" with a blessing.

(58) Ecphonesis introducing the Lord's Prayer (= *ibid.*, p. 391, 25-26).

(59) Call to communion and response (= *ibid.*, p. 393, 13-15).

IX. 1. Καὶ τούτου λεγομένου, σφραγίζει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τρὶς μετὰ τοῦ ἄρτου εἰς τὸν δίσκον· μίαν μέσον, ἑτέραν ἐξ εὐωνύμων, καὶ ἄλλην ἐκ δεξιῶν. 2. Εἶτα κλᾷ τὸν ἄρτον εἰς δύο, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ ἀποτίθησιν ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῇ εὐωνύμῳ τέμνει μέσον. 3. Πάλιν τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ ἀποτίθησιν ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ. 4. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐν Γτῇ [19] εὐωνύμῳ κόπτει μίαν σφραγῖδα. 5. Καὶ λέγοντος τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου· *Πλήρωσον, δέσποτα ἅγιε, τὸ ποτήριον*, τοιαύτην σφραγῖδα ⟨ἀναλαβών,⟩ σφραγίζει δι' ἑαυτῆς τὸ ποτήριον λέγων· *Πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου*, καὶ ἐμβάλλει ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν σφραγῖδα. 6. Ἀποτίθησι δὲ καὶ ὃν κατέχει ἐν τῇ εὐωνύμῳ χειρὶ ἄρτον ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ. 7. Καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεται τὸν ἕτερον τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ⟨σφραγῖδος⟩ ἀποτμηθέντα, καὶ ἀφελόμενος ἐξ αὐτοῦ σφραγῖδα, πληροῖ τὸ ἕτερον ποτήριον, καὶ ἀποτίθησι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρτον ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ. 8. Καὶ αὖθις ἀναλαμβάνεται τὸν ἕτερον
514[r] ἄρτον ἡμίτμητον, καὶ ‖ κλᾷ αὐτὸν μέσον. 9. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἀποτίθησιν ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ. 10. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἀφελόμενος μίαν μερίδα, ἀποτίθησιν ἐν τῷ περιχειλίσματι τοῦ δίσκου ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀποτίθησι πάλιν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρτον ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ. 11. Εἶτα ἀναλαμβάνεται καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἄρτον καὶ ἀφελόμενος ἐξ αὐτοῦ μίαν μερίδα, ἀποτίθησιν ταύτην ἔγγιστα τῆς ἑτέρας μερίδος. 12. Καὶ οὕτω ποιεῖται τὸν ὅλον διαμερισμὸν τῶν ἄρτων.

X. 1. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ διαμερίσασθαι τοὺς ἀρκοῦντας, ἀπομαξάμενος τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτινάξας πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ τὸν τυχόντα μαργαρίτην ἀπολειφθῆναι Γταύταις [20], κατέρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπῖδος καὶ προσκυνεῖ τρίτον κατὰ ἀνατολάς, λέγων πρὸς ἑαυτόν· *Τοῦ δείπνου σου μυστικοῦ*:

[19] τῷ
[20] τούτοις

IX. 5. The commixture, *textus receptus*: Πλήρωσον δέσποτα τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον. Πλήρωμα πίστεως, Πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ἀμήν. The Slavonic *textus receptus* remains faithful to the early Greek text: *Ispolnenie ducha svjatago.*

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(60) σφραγίς (Slavonic: *pečat'* = "stamp, seal, impression") refers here to the seal impressed on the eucharistic prosphora and, by extension, to the bread thus stamped (cf. BRIGHTMAN, p. 356, 28-37; J.-M. HANSSENS, *Institutiones liturgicae di ritibus orientalibus*, Romae 1930, II, p. 181 no. 322; and EUTYCHIUS, *Sermo de paschate et de ss. eucharistia* 2, PG 86[2], 2394C).

[**IX. Fraction and Commixture**]

IX. 1. And while this is being said, the bishop blesses three times with the bread on the discos, [making] one [sign of the cross] in the center, another to the left, and another to the right. 2. Then he breaks the bread in two, and the [bread] in his right hand he puts on the discos; the [seal] (60) in his left he cuts in the middle. 3. Again he puts on the discos the [bread] in his right hand. 4. From the [bread] in his left he cuts one seal. 5. And when the archdeacon says, "*Make full, holy master, the chalice*," ⟨taking⟩ the same seal [the bishop] blesses the chalice with it, saying, "*The fullness of the Holy Spirit*," and drops the seal into it. (61) 6. And the bread that he is holding in the left hand he puts on the discos. 7. And he takes the other [bread], the one cut from the same ⟨seal⟩, and after taking from it a seal, fills the other chalice, and puts this bread on the discos too. 8. And again he takes the other bread cut in two, and breaks it in the middle. 9. And the [bread] in the right hand he puts on the discos. 10. After taking one particle from the left-hand [bread], he puts it on the edge of the discos in front of him, and again places the bread on the discos. 11. Then he takes also the other bread, and having taken from it one particle, puts this next to the other particle. 12. And in this way the whole fraction of the bread is done.

[**X. Communion**]

X. 1. And after having divided enough and wiped and shaken his hands lest perchance a pearl (62) be left on them, he descends from the platform and bows three times to the east, saying to

(61) Commixture, cf. apparatus. The vocabulary of "filling" or "perfecting" the chalice may be an extension of the metaphor of the seal (cf. LAMPE, p. 1355).

(62) Term frequently used to refer to a particle of the consecrated bread. Cf. L. CLUGNET, *Dictionnaire grec-français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'Église grecque*, Paris 1895, p. 95, and the references in LAMPE, p. 827.

2. Σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ προσκυνεῖ καὶ ὁ ὀφείλων μεταδοῦναι αὐτῷ ἱερεύς, καὶ ἀνέρχονται ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὴν κρηπῖδα καὶ ἀσπάζονται τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν. **3.** Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἁπλώσας τὰς χεῖρας μεταλαμβάνει. **4.** Εἶτα συνέχων τὸν ἄρτον τοῖς δυσὶν ἐσχάτοις δακτύλοις, διὰ τῶν ἑτέρων τριῶν ἀναλαμβάνεται τὴν ἑτέραν μερίδα καὶ μεταδίδωσι τῷ μεταδόντι αὐτῷ. **5.** Ὁ δὲ ταύτην δεξάμενος, ἀσπάζεται τῆν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρειάν. **6.** Καὶ κατέρχονται ἀμφότεροι ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπῖδος καὶ ἐπικλιθέντες, δαπανῶσι τοὺς θείους ἄρτους. **7.** Εἶτα ἀπομάττονται τὰς χεῖρας ἐν τοῖς δίσκοις. **8.** Ἐπιδίδωσι δὲ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος τὸ ποτήριον τῷ ἱερεῖ, καὶ ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ προσκυνήσας, μεταλαμβάνει. **9.** Εἶτα ἐπιστρέφει κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἀπομάττεται τὰ χείλη διὰ τοῦ ἄκρου εἰλητοῦ καὶ ποιεῖται προσκυνήσεις τρεῖς εὐχαριστηρίους. **10.** Καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν, ἐπιστρέφει καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεται τὸ ποτήριον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ μεταδίδωσιν αὐτῷ. **11.** Ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς μετὰ τὸ μεταλαβεῖν προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀσπάζεται τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεται τὸ ποτήριον. **12.** Καὶ οὕτως ἀνέρχεται ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς τὴν κρηπῖδα καὶ μεταδίδωσι τοῖς τοῦ βήματος.

13. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι πᾶσιν, ἀπέρχεται πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἀντιμήσιον, καὶ εἰπόντος τοῦ τὸν δίσκον διακομίζοντος διακόνου· *Εὐλόγησον,*
514[v] *δέσποτα,* λέγει ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· *Εὐλογήσω* ‖ *τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ*: **14.** Καὶ τελειοῦται παρὰ τῶν συνεστώτων ὁ ψαλμὸς ὅλος, τοῦ λαοῦ ⌈μεταλαμβάνοντος[21]. **15.** Καὶ ἐὰν ὦσι, καὶ ἕτεροι μεταλαμβάνοντες, λέγει πάλιν ὁ διάκονος· *Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα,* καὶ λέγει ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· *Εὐλογήσω τὸν κύριον*: **16.** Τοῦτο δὲ δὶς καὶ τρὶς καὶ πολλάκις λέγεται, πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν μεταλαμβανόντων.

[21] μεταλαβόντος. Correction after liturgical sense of the communion rite (cf. nos. **15-17**).

([63]) Sixth-century Holy-Thursday refrain (cf. TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 59, 68-70) used since the Middle Ages also as a prayer before communion (= BRIGHTMAN, p. 394, 25-27). See commentary.

([64]) Possibly one of the bishops, as seems implied in the reference to "the first bishop" in no. **3**. In the archieraticon of Gemistos, at any rate, one of the bishops communicates the patriarch, and receives in turn from him, in a rite similar to the one described here (DMITR II, pp. 315-16).

([65]) The eiliton or corporal was the only cloth spread under the eucharistic gifts in this period. It is now customary to use for this purpose the antimension, a relic-bearing, consecrated corporal somewhat akin to the Latin altar-stone, and, like the latter, originally intended for use only when no consecrated altar was available. For the history of this innovation, see J. M. Izzo, O.F.M., *The Antimension in the Liturgical and Canonical Tradition of the Byzantine and Latin Churches*, Rome 1975, esp. pp. 110-124.

himself, *"Your mystical supper..."* ([63]) **2.** With him bows the priest ([64]) who is supposed to give him communion, and both mount the platform and kiss the holy altar. **3.** And first the bishop, having stretched forth his hands, receives. **4.** Then holding the bread in the last two fingers, with the other three he takes the other particle and gives it to the one that gave communion to him, **5.** who, after receiving it, kisses his hand and cheek. **6.** And both descend from the platform and after bowing down, consume the divine bread. **7.** Then they wipe the hands clean on the discoi. **8.** And the archdeacon gives the chalice to the priest, and the bishop, after turning to him and bowing, communicates. **9.** Then he turns to the east and wipes the lips clean with the edge of the eiliton, ([65]) and makes three bows in thanksgiving. **10.** And after kissing the holy altar, he turns, and takes the chalice from the priest, and [the bishop] communicates him. **11.** The priest, after receiving, bows to the bishop and kisses his right hand and takes the chalice. **12.** And thus the bishop goes to the platform and gives communion to those in the sanctuary.

13. And after giving [communion] to everyone [in the sanctuary] he goes off to the first communion table, ([66]) and when the deacon carrying the discos has said, *"Bless, master,"* the bishop says, *"I will bless the Lord at all times..."* ([67]) **14.** And the whole psalm is done by the assistants while the people are receiving communion. **15.** And if there are still other communicants, the deacon says again, *"Bless, master,"* and the bishop says, *"I will bless the Lord..."* **16.** And this is said two and three and several times, for as long as there are communicants.

([66]) Literally "antimension" or portable altar, not to be confused with the modern corporal (cf. note 65). At Hagia Sophia small tables were used in the rite of communion, probably to hold the sacred vessels. Cf. *Chronicon paschale* (AD 624), PG 92, 1001 (παρατραπέζια); *De cerimoniis*, VOGT, I, 10, p. 70 (ἀντιμίσιον).

([67]) Ps 33(34). See the commentary below.

17. Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ [μεταλαβόντος [22] καὶ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ παρὰ τῶν τοῦτον ᾀδόντων τελειωθέντος, λέγει ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα· *Κύριε, εὐλόγησον.* 18. Καὶ σφραγίζων ἅπαξ τὸν λαόν, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐκφωνεῖ· *Εὐλογία κυρίου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πάντοτε*: Καὶ ἀπελθὼν πρὸς τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος, καθέζεται. 19. Προσελθὼν δὲ ὁ ὑποδιάκονος, λέγει· *Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα*, καὶ λέγων ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καθ' ἑαυτόν· *Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα*: ἀπονίπτεται. 20. Καὶ προσέρχεται αὐτῷ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος ζητῶν εὐχὴν τοῦ θυμιάματος. 21. Ὁ δὲ σφραγίζων ἔνδοθεν τοῦ φαινολίου λέγει· *Θυμίαμά σοι προσφέρω*: 22. Εἶτα θυμιᾷ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν κυκλόθεν. 23. Καὶ τελευταῖον ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ θυμιάσας αὐτὸν τρίτον, κλίνων τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ λέγει· *Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα.* 24. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς σφραγίζων αὐτὸν ἔνδοθεν τοῦ φαινολίου λέγει· *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε*: 25. Καὶ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος εἰπών· *Ἀμήν*, δίδωσι καιρὸν τοῖς ψάλταις, καὶ ψάλλουσι τὸ *Πληρωθήτω*: καὶ ἐξέρχονται τὰ ἅγια.

XI. 1. Ἐξερχομένων δὲ τούτων, ἵσταται ἐπικεκλιμένος ὁ ἱερεύς, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐξέλευσιν τῶν ἁγίων, ἀνέχει τὸ φαινόλιον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ κανστρήσιος καὶ προσκαλεῖται τοῦτον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν. 2. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν καὶ παραστῆναι τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ, λαμβάνει καιρὸν ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος, καὶ λέγονται αἱ αἰτήσεις παρὰ τοῦ [ἀρχιδιακόνου [23]. 3. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγει τὴν εὐχήν· *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, δέσποτα*: 4. *Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἅγιος*: 5. Ὁ διάκονος· *Ἐν εἰρήνῃ*

[22] μεταλαμβάνοντος (cf. 21 above).
[23] ἀρχιδιακόνος

18. *Textus receptus*: Σῶσον ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου (Ps 27 [28]: 9a) = BRIGHTMAN, p. 396, 19 (cf. note 68).
XI. 4. *Textus receptus*: Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ... (*ibid.*, p. 397, 13-15).

([68]) The exclamation in the *textus receptus* is Ps 27(28):9a, "Save, O God, your people and bless your inheritance" (see commentary).

([69]) Lk 2:29ff with *lavabo* is not an integral part of the liturgical formulary, but is usually found with the prayers of thanksgiving after the dismissal (cf. the 12-13th c. diataxis in codex *Ethnikè Bibliothèkè 662*, TREMPELAS, p. 15; BRIGHTMAN, p. 399, 8). It does appear, with *lavabo*, in the pontifical rite in the archieratica of Gemistos (DMITR II, p. 317) and of the Andreas Skete codex (*ibid.* I, p. 172). Today the bishop still washes his hands after communicating, but the *Nunc dimittis* is said after the liturgy, as in the presbyteral rite (cf. *Činovnik archierejskago svjaščennosluženija*, Warsaw 1944, ff. 16v-17v).

17. After the people have received communion and the psalm has been completed by those singing, the archdeacon says to the bishop, *"Lord, bless."* 18. And blessing the people once, the bishop chants aloud, *"The blessing of the Lord be upon us, always..."*, ([68]) and after withdrawing to the left side he sits down. 19. And the subdeacon comes up and says, *"Bless, master,"* and the bishop washes his hands, saying to himself, *"Master, now let your servant depart..."* ([69]) 20. And the archdeacon comes up to him requesting the Prayer of Incense. 21. And he, blessing from under the phelonion, says, *"I offer you incense..."* ([70]) 22. Then the archdeacon incenses around the holy altar. 23. And finally he goes to the bishop and after incensing him three times, bows his head [and] says, *"Bless, master."* 24. The bishop, blessing him from under the phelonion, says, *"Blessed is our God, always..."* 25. And after saying, *"Amen,"* the archdeacon grants permission to the psalmists, and they chant the *Plérothéto*, ([71]) and the gifts go out.

[XI. Thanksgiving and Dismissal]

XI. 1. While they are going out the priest stands bowed, and after the exit of the gifts the castrensis lifts up the bishop's phelonion and summons him to the holy altar. 2. And after he withdraws and is standing before the holy altar, the archdeacon gets permission, and the petitions are said by the archdeacon. ([72]) 3. And the bishop says the prayer, *"We thank you, master..."* 4. *"For you are the holy..."* ([73]) 5. The deacon:

([70]) Cf. note 34 above. The 11th c. Arabic and Georgian redactions of CHR have other incense prayers at this point (BACHA, p. 469; *Version géorg.* p. 115).

([71]) Πληρωθήτω τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν αἰνέσεώς σου, Κύριε... (cf. Ps. 70(71): 8) is the apolytikion now generally omitted by the Greeks but still sung in Slavonic (*Da ispolnjatsja usta naša chvalenija tvoego Gospodi...*) while the gifts are returned to the prothesis after communion. In our document it retains its original purpose as *perissé* or (variant) concluding refrain of the communion antiphon. See TAFT, *Liturgies*, pp. 376-377; MATEOS, *Typicon* II (ἀπολυτίκιον, περισσή, πληρωθήτω, ψάλμος, pp. 285, 313-14, 327) and the commentary below.

([72]) Litany after communion (= BRIGHTMAN, p. 397, 6-11).

([73]) Postcommunion Prayer (3) and ecphonesis. The prayer, displaced in most modern Greek editions (as in *ibid.*, p. 395, 33-37) belongs, as in our MS, just before its ecphonesis (= *ibid.*, p. 397, 13-15).

Γπροέλθωμεν.[24] **6.** Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος. **7.** Καὶ καιμένου ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν τοῦ ἱερέως τὴν τοῦ ὀπισθάμβωνος εὐχὴν ὀφείλοντος εἰπεῖν, σφραγίζει τοῦτον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγων· *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν:* **8.** Εἶτα ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ ὁ κανστρήσιος τὸ ὠμοφόριον καὶ στρέφεται κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ προσκυ-
515r νεῖ τρίτον εὐχαριστῶν. **9.** Καὶ ἀνέρχεται εἰς τὴν κρηπῖδα || καὶ ἀσπάζεται καὶ οὕτως κατέρχεται. **10.** Καὶ ἐπιστρέφεται πρὸς τοὺς συλλειτουργοῦντας αὐτῷ καὶ ἀποχαιρετίζων τούτους, ἐξέρχεται χειροκρατούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ μητατώριον διὰ τῶν ⟨θυρῶν⟩ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν πλάγιον τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν.

[24] πᾶσι: corrected after *textus receptus* = BRIGHTMAN, p. 397, 20.

([74]) The dismissal and Prayer behind the Ambo (= *ibid.*, pp. 397, 20-398, 9) or final blessing formerly concluded the Byzantine eucharist (see commentary below). In the earliest witnesses to the pontifical liturgy of the Great Church it is said by the patriarch (10th c. BAS in the version of Johannisberg, COCHLAEUS, p. 132; and in *Codex Pyromalus*, GOAR[2], p. 156); in the archieratica of Gemistos (DMITR II, pp. 317-18) and Andreas Skete codex (*ibid.* I, p. 172) a presbyter says it, as in our document and in modern usage.

([75]) I.e. The patriarchal chambers in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, which communicated with one of the cathedral's three imperial métatoria that was also located there (*De cerimoniis*, VOGT, I, 37(28) p. 148. Cf. MATHEWS, pp. 96, 131-4; STRUBE, pp. 72 ff).

([76]) The sanctuary of Hagia Sophia was enclosed by a three-sided chancel barrier extending out into the nave, with entrances at the front

"Let us depart in peace." **6.** And the bishop turns to the right side. **7.** And when the priest who is to say the Prayer behind the Ambo ([74]) is in position before the holy doors, the bishop blesses him saying, *"Blessed is our God..."* **8.** Then the castrensis puts the omophorion on him, and he turns to the east and bows three times in thanksgiving. **9.** And he mounts the platform and kisses [the altar], and thus descends. **10.** And he turns to his concelebrants, and taking leave of them, goes out supported by the archontes, and departs to the métatorion ([75]) via the ⟨doors⟩ on the right side of the holy doors. ([76])

(to be continued)

and on each side: the central or "holy doors" in the west side, and side doors north and south. Cf. XYDIS; MATHEWS, p. 98. The side door on the same side as the patriarchal chambers, i.e. to the south or right as one is facing the altar (east), is the one by which the patriarch made his exit.

The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church according to a Twelfth-Century Diataxis in Codex *British Museum Add. 34060*

II (1)

IV. COMMENTARY

Sources for the History of the Pontifical Liturgy:

The liturgy described in the diataxis of codex *British Museum Add. 34060* can best be studied in relation to the principal extant witnesses to the Byzantine pontifical eucharist: (2)

(1) Part I: OCP 45 (1979), 279-307. The list of abbreviations used in the notes is given there, pp. 282-3, to which add:

CABASILAS (SC 4 bis) = NICOLAUS CABASILAS, *Explication des ornements sacrés; Explication des rites de la Divine Liturgie*. Introduction, textes inédites, et traduction par R. BORNERT, in NICOLAUS CABASILAS, *Explication de la Divine Liturgie*, 2d ed. (= SC 4 bis) Paris 1967, appendice, pp. 355-381.

IVANOVSKIJ = N. I. IVANOVSKIJ (ed.), *Proskinitarij Arsenija Suchanova, 1649-1653 gg.* Pravoslavnyj PalSb 7 (1899), *vypusk* 3.

JACOB, Formulaire = A. JACOB, *Histoire du formulaire grec de la liturgie de s. Jean Chrysostome. Thèse présentée pour l'obtention du grade de docteur en philosophie et lettres*, groupe C: Philologie (unpublished dissertation) Louvain 1968.

KÄHLER = H. KÄHLER, *Hagia Sophia*, trans. E. CHILDS, N. Y. 1967.

Menologio = Il menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vaticano greco 1613) I: Testo, II: Tavole (= *Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi*, vol. VIII) Turin 1907.

NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ = K. NEVOSTRUEV and A. GORSKIJ, *Opisanie slavjanshich ruhopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj Bibliotehi*, 4 vols., Moscow 1855-1917.

Obozrenie = Obozrenie unijatskich bogosluženych knig, ChrČt 1866 (1) 364-395.

SIPOVIČ = C. SIPOVIČ (ed.), *The Pontifical Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.*

8th century

1. The *Historia ecclesiastica* of Patriarch St. Germanus I († *c.* 730) (3).

10th century

2. The Typicon of the Great Church (4).

3. BAS in *Codex Pyromalus* (5) and in the Latin version of Johannisberg (6).

4. The *De cerimoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus († 959) (7).

5. The description of the imperial procession to Hagia Sophia by Harun Ibn-Yahya (mid-10th century) (8). Although it refers to imperial rather than ecclesiastical ceremonial, it witnesses to the splendor of Constantinopolitan ritual in this period.

11th century

6. The scroll *Jerusalem Stavrou 109*.

7. An Arabic Melkite pontifical of CHR (9).

8. The *Protheoria* of Nicholas of Andida, later revised by Theodore of Andida (10).

A Manuscript of the 17th Century in the Slavonic Text and Latin Translation, London 1978.

SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *ET*; *SL* = ID., *Expositio de divino templo*; *De sacra liturgia*.

(2) For a complete description of these sources, their editions, dating, etc. see TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. XXVII ff. The editions used in this study are those cited in the following notes. Where no edition is indicated the MS itself has been consulted.

(3) Ed. BORGIA, cited *supra*, part I, note 50.

(4) Ed. MATEOS, *Typicon*.

(5) Ed. GOAR [2], pp. 153-6.

(6) Ed. COCHLAEUS.

(7) Ed. VOGT.

(8) "Procession of the Emperor to the Great Church which is for the common people", in A. VASILIEV, *Harun-Ibn-Yahya and his Description of Constantinople*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932) pp. 158-60, also cited in KÄHLER, pp. 65-66.

(9) Ed. BACHA.

(10) PG 140, 417-68. BORNERT (pp. 151-6) dates this commentary 1055-63. This has been challenged recently by J. DARROUZÈS, who believes it should be situated between 1085-95 (*Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes*, REByz 32, 1974, pp. 199-203).

12th century

9. The *Commentarius liturgicus* of Pseudo-Sophronius (11).

14th century

10. Two lesser commentaries of Nicholas Cabasilas *On the Celebration of the Divine Liturgy* and *On the Priestly Vesture* (12).

11. The *De officiis* of Pseudo-Codinus (*c.* 1350-60) (13).

12. The diataxis of deacon Demetrius Gemistos (*c.* 1380) describing the patriarchal liturgy of Hagia Sophia (14).

13. The Russian pilgrim Ignatius of Smolensk's description of the coronation liturgy of Manuel II Paleologus, celebrated by Patriarch Anthony IV in 1391 (15).

15th century

14. The *služebnik archierejskij* (episcopal euchology, or *činovnik* in today's nomenclature) of codex *Moscow Synod Slav 348 (600)*, AD 1400, the oldest Slavonic *činovnik* known to me (16).

15. The diataxis of the patriarchal rite of the Great Church in a MS of the Russian St. Andreas Skete on Mt. Athos (17).

16. *The De sacra liturgia* and *Expositio de divino templo* of Symeon of Thessalonika († 1429) describing the pontifical usages of his church (18).

17. The scroll *Sinai Gr. 1021* of BAS.

18. The diataxis of Theodore Agallianos (1437) (19).

16th century

19. *University of Michigan Codex 554*, a pontifical diataxis that remains to be studied, though I suspect it will turn out to be a copy of Gemistos (number 12 above).

(11) PG 87 [3], 3981-4001.

(12) CABASILAS (SC 4 bis).

(13) Ed. VERPEAUX.

(14) Ed. DMITR II, pp. 301-19.

(15) S. V. ARSEN'EV (ed.), *Choždenie Ignatija smolnjanina 1389-1405 gg.*, Pravoslavnyj PalSb 4, fasc. 3 (1887) pp. 14-18. Translations can be found in B. DE KHITROWO, *Itindraires russes en Orient* (Geneva 1889) pp. 143-7; P. SHERRARD, *Constantinople. Iconography of a Sacred City* (London 1965) pp. 50-52; KÄHLER, pp. 66-67.

(16) NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ III, 1, pp. 35-7.

(17) Ed. DMITR I, pp. 164-72.

(18) PG 155, 253-304; 697-749.

(19) M. CHRISTOPOULOS, *Τυπικὴ διάταξις τῆς βασιλείου τάξεως τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς σταυροπροσκυνήσεως*, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 11 (1935) 48-51. I am grateful to Heinzgerd Brakmann of the University of Bonn for bringing this source to my attention.

20. The archieraticon of codex *Vatican Slav 15* (15-16th century), which contains assorted pontificalia as well as other material from the euchology and *trebnik* or ritual. Folia 135-55 containing CHR are now missing, but BAS is on ff. 155-65 [20].

21. The *archierejskie služebniki* in two Slavonic manuscripts, *Moscow Synod 366* (*680*) and *367* (*909*), on which the 1910 Moscow edition of the *Edinovercy Činovnik* is based [21].

22. The *služebnik archierejskij* of codex *St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Sciences Slav. 21.4.13* (*Nov. 918*) [22].

17th century

23. Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo's account of the travels of Macarius III Za'im, Patriarch of Antioch (1647-1672) [23]. Paul was the prelate's son, and accompanied him on his extensive journey throughout the Orthodox East in 1652-1659. A keen observer of ecclesiastical customs and local ritual peculiarities, Paul describes several liturgical services, including the patriarchal eucharist in the Cathedral of St. George, Constantinople, on Christmas day, 1652 [24].

24. Starec Arsenij Suchanov's [25] *čin* (*ordo*) of the Greek patriarchal liturgy, found towards the end of his *Proskinitarij* (*The Worshipper*) [26], an account of his "liturgical pilgrimage" in the East and one of the many documents occasioned by the reform of the Muscovite service books during the patriarchate of Nikon (1652-57) [27]. While on a visit to Moscow at the beginning of 1649, Patriarch Paisius of Jerusalem (1645-60) unsettled his hosts by informing them that their liturgical customs, so recently reformed by Patriarch Filaret (1619-33) [28], still departed considerably from those of the rest of Orthodoxy [29].

The Muscovites, following the precedent set in 987 by Prince Vladimir of Kiev (978-1015) and his boyars on the occasion of another ritual decision at the birth of Christian Rus' [30], decided to see for themselves. So Hieromonk Arsenij, superior (*stroitel'*) of the Trinity-Sergius Annunciation Monastery, was sent to Jerusalem at the command of Tsar Alexis Michailovich (1645-76), and with the blessing Patriarch Iosif (1642-52), to observe and report on the uses of that Church. In 1649 he was on Athos and in Rumania, and from February 1651 he visited Constantinople, the Greek islands, Egypt, and Jerusalem, returning to Moscow overland via Asia Minor and the Caucasus in June 1653 to find Patriarch Iosif dead and the ill-fated reformer Nikon on the patriarchal throne. Arsenij, previously in favor of retaining the Old Russian uses, joined the reform, and his *Proskinitarij* is the fruit of this first voyage to the Orthodox East [31].

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[20] M. MARUSYN, *Čyny svjatytel's'kyx služb v Kyjivs'komu Evxolohioni z počatku XVI st.* (= *Praci Hreko-Katolyc'koji Bohoslovs'koji Akademiji*, tom 27) Rome 1966, pp. 108-9; cf. M. WAWRYK, *Cinnyj pam'jatnyk obrjadovosty Kyjivs'koji Mytropoliji XV-XVI st.*, *Analecta OSBM* 4 (10) (1963) 391-460.

[21] Cf. NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ III, 1, pp. 91-105; the *edinovercy* are the Russian Old-Ritualists in communion with the Russian Orthodox Church. Their pontifical, edited in Moscow in 1910, was given to the Library of the Pontifical Oriental Institute by the late Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad on December 15, 1970. On the MSS used in its redaction, cf. f. 105r-v.

[22] V. I. SREZNEVSKIJ and F. E. POKROVSKIJ, *Opisanie rukopisnago otdelenija Biblioteki Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*, I: *Rukopisi*, tom 1 (St. Petersburg 1910) pp. 87-90.

[23] Ed. B. RADU, *Voyage du patriarche Macaire d'Antioche. Texte arabe et traduction française*, PO 22 fasc. 1, 24 fasc. 4, 26 fasc. 5. Radu's edition is incomplete, as is also the English translation of F. C. BELFOUR, *The Travels of Macarius, patriarch of Antioch*, 2 vols. (London 1829-36). The only complete text presently available seems to be the Russian version of G. MURKOS, *Putešestvie Antiochijskago Patriarcha Makarija v Rossiju v polovine XVII veka, opisannoe ego synom, Archidiakonom Pavlom Aleppskim*, ČtOIDR 1896 (4), 1897 (4), 1898 (3-4), 1900 (2). On Paul of Aleppo and his diary see GCAL 146, pp. 110-2.

[24] Ch. 12-13, PO 22, pp. 121-32.

[25] On the life and works of Arsenij, cf. S. BELOKUROV, *Arsenij Suchanov*, ČtOIDR 1891 (1-2), 1894 (2); ID., *Materialy dlja istorii russkoj cerkvi*, ChrČt 1883 (2), 670-738.

[26] On the *Proshinitarij* and its MSS, see "O rukopisjach sočinenij Suchanova" in the appendix at the end of BELOKUROV, *Arsenij Suchanov*, ČtOIDR 1891 (2) pp. CXXXVIII-CXLVIII. On the patriarchal *čin*, cf. pp. CLXVI no. 26.6 and 27 no.6. The text of the *čin* is found in IVANOVSKIJ, pp. 249-79. It was soon excerpted from the *Proskinitarij* and included in MSS separately, as a diataxis. Cf. *Čin bošestvennyja služby...* in the 17th century codex *Moscow Synod Slav 369* (*698*), ff. 65-96 (NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ III, 1, pp. 109-10).

[27] On the 17th century Muscovite reform, cf. A. AMMANN, *Storia della Chiesa russa* (Turin 1948) pp. 221-39 and below, note 37.

[28] *Loc. cit.* and P. KAZANSKIJ, *Ispravlenie cerkovno-bogoslužebnych knig pri Patriarche Filarete*, ČtOIDR 3 (1848) (8), 1-26. Cf. AMMANN, *op. cit. supra* note 27, pp. 222 ff.

[29] IVANOVSKIJ, p. III.

[30] Cf. the legend of the conversion of Rus' in AD 987: S. H. CROSS and O. P. SHERBOWITZ-WELTZOR, *The Russian Primary Chronicle, Laurentian Text* (Cambridge Mass. 1953) pp. 110-11.

[31] IVANOVSKIJ, pp. V, VII.

25. The diataxis of Patriarch Athanasius in codex *Moscow Synod 266* (= Savva *245*, de Matthaei *232*) [34] an autograph Greek MS by former Constantinopolitan Patriarch Athanasius III Pattelaras (Patellarios), twice patriarch of Constantinople from March 7-21, 1634, and for a couple of days again in 1652, during that turbulent period of innumerable brief reigns [35]. While in Moscow from 16 (26) April, 1653, until the end of that year, Athanasius was requested by the Russians to compose his work as an aid to the projected Nikonian reform. He died the following year on April 5 (15) at the Mhar Monastery of the Transfiguration near Lubny in the Ukraine [36] and is buried there. Translated into Slavonic [37] and confirmed at the Synod of Moscow in 1667 by Patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch [38], the diataxis was incorporated into the synodal acts [39], becoming thereby the official pontifical diataxis of the Russian Church. The rubrics of contemporary Muscovite usage are substantially the same as those in this diataxis.

26. The archieraticon of codex Athens *Ethnikê Bibliothêkê 754* [40].

[32] Archimandrite VLADIMIR (FILANTROPOV), *Sistematičeskoe opisanie rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj (Patriaršej) Biblioteki*, I: *Rukopisi grečeskija* (Moscow 1894) p. 385.

[33] On the life of Pattelaras. Cf. G. HOFMANN, *Griechische Patriarchen und römische Päpste. Untersuchungen und Texte*, II. 2: *Patriarch Athanasios Patellaros, seine Stellung zur römischen Kirche*, OC 19/2.

[34] Mhars'kyj Lubens'kyj Preobražens'kyj Monastyr on the hill called Mhara about five km. outside the town of Lubny, in the Gubernija of Poltava, presently center of the Lubens'kyj Rajon in Poltavs'ka Oblast', URSR. On the monastery, see O. BODJANSKIJ (ed.), *Letopis' monastyrja gustynskogo*, ČtOIDR 3 (1848) (8), pp. 20 ff (Slavonic numerals), 70; *Radjans'ka encyklopedija istoriji Ukrajiny* (Kiev 1971) III, p. 108. The Transfiguration Cathedral of the monastery is still standing (*Istorija Ukrajins'koji RSR*, of the Academy of Sciences of the URSR, vol. 2, Kiev 1979, p. 207 has a photograph of it), but I do not know if Athanasius' remains are in this church; its construction began the year he died. I am indebted to Sr. Sophia Senyk OSBM for the references in this note.

[35] Two contemporary MSS have the text: *Moscow Synod Slav 368* (*670*), ff. 1-59; *369* (*698*), ff. 4-64; cf. NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ III, 1, pp. 105-9.

[36] *Dejanija*, ff. 42r-63r.

[37] *Ibid.* f. 42r. On the various synodal sources of the 17th-century Muscovite reform, cf. E. HERMAN, *De fontibus iuris ecclesiastici russorum. Commentarius historico-canonicus* (= FCCO, serie 2, fasc. 6) pp. 41 ff., 59 ff.

[38] TREMPELAS, sigl. 9.

27. The mid-17th century *archierejskij služebnik* in codex *Moscow Synod Slav 575* (*690*) [39].

28. Another Slavonic pontifical in *Moscow Synod Slav 370* (*271*), AD 1665 [40].

29. The Ruthenian Catholic pontifical with parallel Slavonic text and Latin translation on facing pages, recently edited in photographic reproduction by Belorussian Catholic Bishop Ceslaus Sipovič from a MS in the Belorussian library of Francis Skaryna in London [41].

30. The Greek archieraticon in codex *Vilna Public Library 202* (*270*) from the end of the century [42].

18th century

31. The detailed description of the pontifical eucharist of Cholmogory, October 19, 1683, when the new Archbishop Afanasij took possession of his see. The text is found in the so-called *Činovnik of the Spaso-Preobraženskij Cathedral of Cholmogory* — actually a sort of typicon-history of the new archbishop's liturgical celebrations throughout the year [43].

Printed books

32. To this list of MS sources one can add the various editions of the pontifical. The *editio princeps* of the *činovnik* appeared in 1538-40, that of the Greek archieraticon only in 1714, both at Venice [44]. I have never seen the former; we have a copy of the latter in our Library at the Pontifical Oriental Institute [45].

Worthy of mention also is Isaac Habert's influential *ΑΡΧΙΕ-*

[39] NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ III, 2, pp. 511-14.

[40] *Ibid.* III, 1, pp. 112 ff.

[41] SIPOVIČ, pp. 8-113 (photo-facsimile edition).

[42] F. DOBRJANSKIJ, *Opisanie rukopisej Vilenskoj Publičnoj Biblioteki, cerkovno-slavjanskich i russkich* (Vilna 1882) pp. 309-10.

[43] A. P. GOLUBCOV (ed.), *Činovnik Cholmogorskago Preobraženskago Sobora, s predisloviem i ukazatelem*, ČtOIDR 1903 (4) pp. 13-30. Cholmogory is a northern town in the Archangel'skaja oblast', RSFSR, 75 km. southwest of Archangel'sk.

[44] C. KOROLEVSKIJ, *Le Pontifical dans le rite byzantin*, OCP 10 (1944) pp. 205-9, lists the editions known to him, as does SIPOVIČ, p. 119, whose listing completes KOROLEVSKIJ's and includes the modern Slavonic editions of Warsaw 1944, Jordanville (USA) 1965, Rome (Ruthenian) 1973-5.

[45] *ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ* ... Ἐπιμελείᾳ, καὶ ἀναλώμασι τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Νύσσης Κυρίου Μητροφάνους (Venice, Antonio Bortoli 1714).

PATIKON, including the *editio princeps*, with Latin translation, of the diataxis of Gemistos, published at Paris in 1643 (46).

The more recent and almost rubricless Greek archieratica are of less interest than the Slavic *činovniki*, normally quite rich in ceremonial detail. Among these are several Ruthenian pontificals that merit special attention (47), as well as the Moscow 1910 edition of the *Edinovercy Činovnik* already mentioned in number 21 above.

This list is as complete as I have been able to make it up through the 15th century. For the later period and the Slavonic sources, both beyond the scope of this study, I have listed, *ad complementum doctrinae*, the sources known to me. A diligent search of all available catalogues would certainly turn up further MSS, especially in Slavonic.

Our sources fall into six categories:

1. Archieratica, i.e. pontifical euchologies or liturgical books with the complete eucharistic formulary, destined for use by a bishop in the actual celebration of the eucharist (nos. 3, 6, 7, 14, 17, 20-22, 26-30, 32). Five of these are important for our present study:

(a) The 11th century *Codex Pyromalus* of BAS.

(b) The 15th century Latin version of Johannisberg, made from a now lost Greek MS of BAS with almost exactly the same features as the Pyromalus text. Both these sources present the 10th century patriarchal liturgy of the Great Church (48).

(c) *Stavrou 109*, an 11th century Constantinopolitan liturgical scroll written for use by a bishop (49).

(46) I. HABERT, *APXIEPATIKON: Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Graecae* (Paris 1643), again available in reprint from Gregg International.

(47) Cf. the lists mentioned in note 44, and *Obozrenie*, pp. 364-83, which studies the eucharist in the pontificals of Suprasl' (1716) and Uniev (1740), albeit with the customary inability of some writers to remain objective when dealing with Eastern-Catholic matters. Liturgy is what people do when they worship God, not what one thinks they ought to do, and Eastern-Catholic books are evidence like any other. A scholar is one who studies evidence objectively regardless of its provenance. This is not to exclude value judgements, but they should not be based on prejudice.

(48) Cf. A. JACOB, *La concélébration de l'anaphore à Byzance d'après le témoignage de Léon Toscan*, OCP 35 (1969) pp. 251-2 (note).

(49) Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 257-63; TAFT, *Great Entrance*, p. 269.

(d) The Arabic Melkite archieraticon from which CHR was edited and translated by Bacha. Although the MS is dated AD 1260, it presents the liturgy as it was in the 11th century (50).

(e) *Sinai Gr. 1021*, a 15th century roll containing the pontifical rite of BAS (51).

2. Typica such as that of the Great Church (no. 2) and the *"Činovnik" of Cholmogory* (no. 31), which also includes a diataxis.

3. Diataxeis, sometimes also referred to as archieratica even though they do not contain the liturgical text. Rather, they are ceremonials giving detailed rubrics for the pontifical eucharist (nos. 12, 15, 18, 19, 24, 25, 31). There are six of these: the diataxeis of Gemistos, Andreas Sketc, Theodore Agallianos, Starec Arsenij, Patriarch Athanasius III, and Cholmogory.

4. Commentaries on the liturgy (nos. 1, 8-10, 16): Germanus, *Protheoria*, the minor commentaries of Cabasilas, Ps.-Sophronius, Symeon of Thessalonika (52).

5. Imperial ceremonials (*De cerimoniis* and *De officiis*) that describe the court ritual of Constantinople, including church rituals in which the court participated actively, such as the patriarchal eucharist at the coronation of an emperor (nos. 4, 11). See also Ibn-Yahya (no. 5).

6. Eye-witness accounts of Ibn-Yahya, Ignatius of Smolensk, and Paul of Aleppo, to which one can add the *Proskinitarij* of Starec Arsenij and the *Činovnik of Cholmogory* (nos. 5, 13, 23, 24, 31; cf. also the *Addenda* at the end of this article).

Of course some of these categories overlap, and some documents defy easy categorizing. The *čin* of Starec Arsenij is a sort of diataxis excerpted from an eye-witness account. And the *Činovnik of Cholmogory* is at once an eye-witness account, a typicon, and contains what amounts to a diataxis. I have classified them as diataxeis because it suits my purposes in this study.

(50) JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 297 ff.

(51) DMITR II, pp. 367-8, has edited the rubrics of the Trisagion from this MS. In his discussion of the Trisagion MATEOS apparently confuses this MS with *Sinai Gr. 986* (*Célébration*, pp. 107, 108 n. 84, 109, 114).

(52) The fundamental work on the Byzantine commentaries is BORNERT. See also H.-J. SCHULZ, *Die byzantinische Liturgie. Vom Werden ihrer Symbolgestalt* (= *Sophia*, Bd. 5) Freiburg im B. 1964.

Date of the Liturgy:

Our MS, an archieraticon or diataxis that details the rubrics of the pontifical liturgy of Hagia Sophia, is the earliest source of this category that I know of. As we shall see below, it presents a liturgy that I would date 11th century: later than that of *Codex Pyromalus* and the Johannisberg version, but earlier than the Arabic Melkite pontifical — hence more or less contemporary to *Stavrou 109*.

This is supported by the following characteristics, some of which will be discussed more fully below:

1) The bishop does not participate in the enarxis, but awaits the introit outside in the narthex (**I. 1-2**).

2) The practice of introducing the Trisagion by the ecphonesis of its prayer first appears in the 12th century. Our document retains the earlier usage (**II. 1-2**).

3) The Gospel prayer, a 12th century addition to the liturgical formulary, is missing (**III**), though its absence is common enough in later sources.

4) The *lavabo* (**VI. 2-3**) still retains its pre-12th century position after the Great Entrance.

5) The *orate fratres* dialogue (**VI. 6**) is given in a slightly simpler redaction of the new Constantinopolitan recension, which appears for the first time in the 12th century.

6) The formulae of the *pax* (**VII. 1**) have none of the 12th century additions.

7) The *zeon* is not mentioned, nor is it in almost any pre-12th century source (**IX**).

8) The communion psalm (**X. 13-16**) shows archaic features.

9) The 12th century practice of having the celebrant introduce the *Plérothéto* by chanting aloud "*Always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages*" has not been introduced into the diataxis (**X. 23-25**).

10) Also missing are the dismissal rites added after the opisthambonos prayer from the 11th century on (**XI. 7-10**). Though they are often omitted from later euchology MSS, diataxeis like our document almost always contain such innovations.

The Liturgical Formulary:

A diataxis does not give the texts of the liturgical celebration it describes, but we can see from the *incipits* indicated in our document that the formulary presents no surprises. The following list gives, numbered consecutively, the prayers that form an integral part of present-day CHR. Those which are mentioned in our MS are followed by the reference to them in the text, in boldface. The blessing of throne and deacon (in italics) are also found in today's rite. But the incense prayer (in brackets) which our document inserts before the Gospel and after communion has never been part of the fixed formulary except at the prothesis, though it is not uncommon for celebrants to say it at each blessing of the thurible:

FORMULARY OF CHR:	MS REFERENCE:
1. prothesis	—
2. antiphon I	—
3. antiphon II	—
4. antiphon III	—
5. introit	(**I. 3**)
6. Trisagion	(**II. 3**)
— *blessing of the throne*	(**II. 16**)
7. Gospel prayer	—
— *blessing of the deacon*	(**III. 4**)
— [incense]	(**III. 9**)
8. ektené	(**IV. 3**)
9. catechumens	(**IV. 8**)
10. faithful I	(**IV. 8**)
11. faithful II	(**IV. 8**)
12. Nemo dignus	(**V. 2**)
13. proscomidé	(**VI. 8-9**)
14. anaphora	—
15. before Our Father	(**VIII. 3**)
16. inclination	—
17. elevation	—
— [incense]	(**X. 21**)
18. postcommunion	(**XI. 3-4**)
19. opisthambonos	(**XI. 7**)
20. skeuophylakion	—

Our diataxis omits the three antiphon prayers (nos. 2, 3, 4) because the bishop did not enter the nave until the introit. During the enarxis he was seated in the narthex (**I. 2**). In the 10th century sources the bishop did say the prothesis prayer in the skeuophylakion before entering the church ([53]). This was possible because the skeuophylakion was a separate edifice near the northeast corner

([53]) *Codex Pyromalus*, GOAR², p. 153; Johannisberg version, COCHLAEUS, p. 119; both cited in TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 267-8.

of Hagia Sophia (54). Once the preparation of the gifts was moved to an auxiliary prothesis chamber next to the sanctuary, the bishop could no longer offer his prosphora before the liturgy began. Such side chambers or pastophoria first appear in Constantinopolitan churches in the 10th century. Our text, then, along with the 11th century roll *Stavrou 109*, would seem to represent this transitional stage in which the physical location of the prothesis inside the church, and of the bishop outside in the skeuophylakion or narthex, forced the temporary suppression of the prothesis prayer as a formula to be said by the bishop. Later, when the bishop entered the church before the liturgy began and attended the enarxis at his throne before the Royal Doors at the west end of the nave, the three antiphon prayers appear in the pontifical text. And modern archieratica have added again the prothesis prayer as the first formula to be said by the bishop, though there is considerable confusion between the rubrics of the modern hieraticon and those of the archieraticon (55).

The Gospel prayer (no. 7), a later addition to CHR-BAS, does not appear in our diataxis, though little can be argued from its absence, since it is missing in numerous later sources of the liturgy (56). On the other hand the formulary certainly included the anaphora (14) and the prayers of inclination and elevation (16-17), even though they are not mentioned. The final prayer (20), said in the skeuophylakion at the consummation of the

(54) Cf. TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 181-203, on the question of the skeuophylakion and prothesis.

(55) On this question cf. *ibid.* pp. 265-70. The new Ruthenian recension, *Archieratikon ili služebnik svjatitel'skij* (Rome 1973-5), is the first archieraticon I know of to incorporate the new practice of having the bishop complete the prothesis before the Great Entrance, including the offertory prayer (cf. pp. 18, 62-6), thus abolishing the anomaly between hieraticon and archieraticon. The MS edited by SIPOVIČ has all the commemorations before the Great Entrance (pp. 64 ff), but the offertory prayer is in its traditional place before the liturgy (pp. 22-3).

(56) Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 139-41. It first appears in the Arabic pontifical (BACHA, p. 452) as one more "oriental" addition to CHR (cf. TAFT, *Great Entrance*, index, p. 476: "Oriental peculiarities"), this time from the Liturgy of St. James (cf. MERCIER, p. 172), and in Italo-Greek usage in the 12th c. codex *Grottaferrata Gb II* (S. MURETOV, *K materialam dlja istorii činoposledovanija liturgii*, Sergeev Posad 1895, p. 4. On the dating of this MS, cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 387-8).

gifts left over after communion, is missing because it was recited only by the presbyters. In our MS the bishop does not even return to the sacristy after liturgy, but goes directly to his chambers (**XI.** 10). It is also missing in 10th century BAS of *Codex Pyromalus* and the Johannisberg version (57), and in the diataxeis of Gemistos and Andreas Skete (58) but, curiously, it is found in *Stavrou 109* (59).

A blessing of the deacon before the Gospel is found in most of our pontifical euchologies and diataxeis save *Stavrou 109*, in spite of the fact that its appearance in the presbyteral rite is much later and less consistent (60).

An incense prayer both before the incensation of the Gospel and after communion is also found in the Arabic pontifical (61).

The Concelebration:

The archieraticon of Gemistos is the first source of the pontifical concelebration to specify the participation of the concelebrants in the recitation of the sacerdotal prayers (62). Our document refers only to the first bishop saying prayers, with the exception of the opisthambonos which is said by one of the presbyters (**XI.** 7).

(57) GOAR², p. 156; COCHLAEUS, p. 132.

(58) DMITR II, p. 319; I, p. 172.

(59) Although this MS is unedited, the *incipit* of the prayer can be seen in the facsimile in A. GRABAR, *Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures*, DOP 8 (1954), illustration 23 (facing p. 167).

(60) GOAR², p. 154; COCHLAEUS, p. 121; BACHA, p. 451; DMITR I, p. 170; II, p. 307 (apparatus). This section of *Sinai Gr. 1021* was not edited in DMITR. On this blessing, see MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 141-3.

(61) BACHA, pp. 452, 469. Georgian CHR also has after communion an incense prayer (*Version Gdorg.* p. 115) that seems related to the parallel one in the Greek Liturgy of St James (MERCIER, p. 236).

(62) The distribution of prayers among the concelebrants in this source is given by J.-M. HANSSENS, *De concelebratione missae in ritibus orientalibus*, *Divinitas* 10 (1966) pp. 516-19. On the history of "verbal" concelebration in the Byzantine rite, the best study is H. BRAKMANN, *"Καὶ ἀναγινώσκουσι πάντες οἱ Ἱερεῖς τὴν εὐχαριστήριον Εὐχήν," Zum gemeinschaftlichen Eucharistiegebet byzantinischer Konzelebranten*, OCP 42 (1976) 319-67. See also A. JACOB's ingenious exegesis of the version of Leo Tuscan (*op. cit. supra* note 48).

Vestments:

In this period the patriarch, as of old, still entered (**I. 4**) and left (**XI. 8-10**) the church vested (63). By the time of Gemistos (*c.* 1380) the present custom of vesting and unvesting in the nave is already observed (64).

The only pontifical vestments our diataxis refers to are the omophorion and phelonion (65). Just before the Gospel the castrensis removes the bishop's omophorion (**III. 10**). The next mention of this vestment is at the end of the liturgy, when the same minister puts it on the bishop again after communion (**XI. 8**). In the commentaries of Symeon of Thessalonika the bishop also removes the omophorion before the Gospel, but puts it on again before the elevation and fraction (66).

In present usage there are two omophoria, the great omophorion or pallium, and the little omophorion, a wide band worn around the neck and down in front on both sides to below the waist, and fastened at the breast, much like a wide, short western stole (67). Today the great omophorion is removed before the epistle and put on again only after the people's communion, when

(63) Cf. for example EUSTRATIUS, *Vita Eutychii* 10, 94, PG 86², 2380; *Codex Pyromalus*, GOAR², pp. 153, 156; Johannisberg version, COCHLAEUS, pp. 119, 132; the descriptions of the introit in *De cerimoniis*, VOGT, I, 1, pp. 10-13; 9, pp. 58-60; 10, p. 69; 32 (33), pp. 122-3; 35 (26), pp. 134-5; 39 (30), pp. 154-5; 44 (35), p. 170; and of the exit: I, 36 (27), pp. 140-1; 37 (28), p. 148. See also the numerous entrances when the liturgy commenced immediately after the stational procession (MATEOS, *Typicon* II, pp. 302-3: λειτουργία) and the depictions of such processions in a 6th century mosaic of S. Vitale, Ravenna, and in the 10th century Menologion of Basil II (cf. *infra*, notes 101, 114).

(64) DMITR II, pp. 302-3, 319.

(65) Omophorion: **III. 10**; **XI. 8**; phelonion: **III. 12, 13, 17**; **V. 3**; **VI. 4**; **VII. 2**; **X. 21, 24**; **XI. 1**. On these vestments see PAPAS, pp. 212 ff; BRAUN, pp. 234-47; 639-74.

(66) *SL*, 98, PG 155, 293 C; *ET*, 69, 90, PG 155, 724 C, 740 D. Cabasilas also implies that the bishop puts on the omophorion again before distributing communion: *On the Celebration of the Divine Liturgy* 8, CABASILAS (SC 4 bis) pp. 372-4.

(67) For illustrations of the great omophorion see BRAUN, pp. 552-3, 649, 665, 670-1, 673. Both forms of the omophorion can be observed frequently in photographs in the *Žurnal Moskovskoj Patriarchii* (*Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*).

the gifts are removed to prothesis. The small omophorion is put on during the Cherubicon and removed after the commemorations at the prothesis just before the Great Entrance; on again after the *sanctus* and removed after the epiclesis; on, finally, before the elevation and fraction, and changed for the great omophorion when the gifts are removed to the prothesis after communion (68).

This small omophorion does not appear in any early source known to me. The diataxis of Patriarch Athanasius in the acts of the Russian synod of 1667 gives the modern usage regarding putting on and taking off the omophorion during the liturgy, but makes no distinction between "great" and "small" (69). And even the modern Slavic pontifical knows nothing of the small omophorion: the rubrics say that the omophorion is worn from the elevation until the end of the liturgy, with no reference to changing from small to great omophorion after communion (70).

In origin this small omophorion is just the great omophorion folded in half and laid over the shoulders as described, when the omophorion was to be worn only for a short period of time. Symeon of Thessalonika in his *De sacris ordinationibus* seems to imply these different ways of wearing the same omophorion (71).

The sakkos or dalmatic now commonly worn by Byzantine patriarchs and metropolitans — and in some Churches by all bishops — when fully vested for solemn services was originally an imperial garment conceded to the Patriarch of Constantinople in the 11th century (72). By the beginning of the 13th century some metropolitans had acquired the same privilege, but it did not become the common vestment of all metropolitans until mid-17th century. Before the advent of the sakkos, patriarchs and metropolitans wore the polystavrion or phelonion covered with numer-

(68) *Činovnik*, Moscow 1798, f. 64v; Warsaw 1944, f. 18r. Cf. K. NIKOL'SKIJ, *Posobie k izučeniju ustava bogoslužnija Pravoslavnoj Cerkvi* (St. Petersburg 1907²) pp. 61-3. NICHOLAS CABASILAS refers to the removal of the omophorion before the consecration of the gifts (*On the Celebration of the Divine Liturgy* 8, CABASILAS [SC 4 bis] pp. 372-3).

(69) *Dejanija*, ff. 49 ff; 62v.

(70) *Činovnik*, Moscow 1798, f. 64v; Warsaw 1944, f. 18r.

(71) 208, PG 155, 421: "... καὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῖς ὤμοις τίθεται· μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ καιρὸν καὶ κύκλῳ τῶν ὤμων καὶ ἔμπροσθεν τε καὶ ὄπισθεν."

(72) On this question see PAPAS, pp. 105-17.

ous small crosses, a pattern familiar to those acquainted with icons and frescoes of the holy hierarchs (73). Ordinary bishops simply wore the phelonion.

The other episcopal vestments are mentioned by Gemistos and later sources except for the mitre (74), which does not appear as a liturgical vestment of the Byzantine tradition until much later in spite of the fact that *Oratio 10* (AD 372) of Gregory Nazianzen, briefly bishop of Constantinople (380-1), is sometimes cited as evidence for the Byzantine episcopal crown (75). But Gregory uses the LXX term for the Aaronic priestly headdress (κίδαρις: cf. Ex 28:4; Lev 8:13; 16:4; etc.), and since the whole passage describing Gregory's imminent episcopal ordination is replete with Levitical metaphor, a figurative interpretation cannot be excluded. Even if some actual headgear is meant there is no indication of what it might have been.

The later evidence is equally scant, right up until modern times. The 10th century menologion of Basil II shows Saints Athanasius and Cyril wearing what seems to be a white kamelaukion (76), and St. Spiridion of Cyprus in a sort of skullcap which the editors see as the tiara mentioned in his *Vita* (77). An illumination in a 14th century Serbian MS, the Slavonic Tetraevangelion of codex *British Museum Add. 39626* (A. D. 1354), portrays Metropolitan Jacob of Serres fully vested and coifed with a black cap (f. 292v) (78). Though K. Wessel identifies it as the mitre (79), this bonnet seems more like the monastic kamelaukion, which the illustrations of this period show as still quite distinct from the

(73) *Loc. cit.* and illustrations in BRAUN, pp. 237, 553.

(74) DMITR II, pp. 302-3; SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *SL* 79-82, PG 155, 256-60; *ET* 37-45, *ibid.* 712-17.

(75) *Oratio 10*, 4, PG 35, 829 D. On the question of the mitre, see BRAUN, pp. 487-95.

(76) *Menologio* I, p. 89 (329), II, plate 329 (Jan. 18).

(77) *Ibid.* I, p. 65 (235), II, plate 239 (Dec. 12). Cf. *Vita* 18, PG 116, 437.

(78) See I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine illuminated Manuscripts* (= *Byzantina neerlandica*, fasc. 6) Leiden 1976, pp. 89-90 and figs. 57-8.

(79) Review of E. PILTZ, *Kamelaukion et mitra. Insignes byzantins impériaux et ecclésiastiques* (= *Acta universitatis Upsaliensis. Figura, Uppsala studies in the History of Art*, n.s. 15) Stockholm 1977 (not available to me), in BZ 72 (1979) p. 116.

imperial-type crown that will later grace hierarchal heads (80). But none of these illustrations depict the eucharistic service, and according to Symeon of Thessalonika († 1429) only the Pope of Alexandria had the right to celebrate the liturgy with his head covered, though he implies that in fact others did so too (81).

At any rate the mitre as we know it did not come into general use until much later (82). We hear of it in the 16th century, though even then it was reserved to patriarchs, and in the late 17th century bishops were still dethroned for wearing "the mitre and patriarchal vestments" (83). But by 1675 it was already in general use by bishops, at least in Russia (84).

The Déroulement of the Celebration:

I. Enarxis and Introit

a. The enarxis

The Byzantine liturgy once began with the introit (85). When the enarxis or rite of three antiphons was added before the introit, it was celebrated at the pontifical liturgy by one presbyter and one deacon at least through the 17th century (86). In the 10th

(80) See the numerous medieval illustrations of the imperial crown and kamelaukion, in SPATHARAKIS (*op. cit. supra* note 78) figs. 33-9, 40, 43, 46, 48-51, 56, 86-91 (the contrast is especially clear in fig. 86), 93, 108 ff, 117, 121.

(81) *ET* 45, PG 155, 716-7; *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum* 20-21, *ibid.* 872-3. According to BRAUN (p. 494), BALSAMON († 1214) is the first one to mention this Alexandrine usage (*Meditata sive responsa*, PG 138, 1048).

(82) BRAUN (p. 490) has found no illustrations of a Byzantine liturgical hat or crown before the end of the Middle Ages.

(83) Cited in PAPAS, p. 116.

(84) BRAUN, p. 492.

(85) See for example *De cerimoniis*, VOGT, I, 1, pp. 10-13; 9, pp. 58-60; 10, p. 69; 32 (33) pp. 122-3; 35 (26) pp. 134-5; 39 (30) pp. 154-5; MATEOS, *Typicon* II, index liturgique, pp. 284: II. c, 291: II. c. Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 34 ff; TAFT, *Liturgies*, pp. 363-8.

(86) *Codex Pyromalus*, GOAR², pp. 153-4; Johannisberg version, COCHLAEUS, pp. 119-20; *Protheoria* 11, PG 140, 432; Arabic pontifical, BACHA, pp. 443-8; archieratica of Gemistos (DMITR II, p. 304) and of Andreas Skete (DMITR I, p. 168); *Dejanija*, f. 46r.

century sources the bishop and other ministers still vested in the skeuophylakion and did not enter the church until the introit (third) antiphon (87). When the outside skeuophylakion fell into disuse (88) it became customary for the bishop to await the introit in the narthex, seated before the "Beautiful Doors" leading into the nave (89). This intermediate use is what we find in our document.

Later sources reflect the modern practice of having the bishop vest in the nave and then sit there surrounded by the other concelebrants during the enarxis. In the rubrics of the Andreas Skete codex the bishop vests at his choir stall (στασίδιον) in the nave, then goes to the appointed place where a faldstool (σελλίον) is placed for him to sit during the enarxis. This is located to the right of the "Beautiful Doors" — apparently just inside the nave (90). Likewise in Gemistos, the patriarch is "before the Royal Doors" (91). But since he says the antiphon prayers while the presbyter and deacon celebrate the enarxis, he is undoubtedly inside the nave. At any rate that is where he certainly is in the earlier Arabic pontifical (92), and in the *Expositio de divino templo* of Symeon of Thessalonika (93). In contemporary usage the Slavonic *Činovnik* has preserved the older custom of the throne in the center of the nave. In Greek usage it is usually displaced to the right, toward the front of the Church.

b. The introit

Our MS describes the ritual relative to the introit of the bishop without explicating the movements of the concelebrants.

(87) MATEOS, *Typicon* II, index liturgique, p. 291; II. c.; *Codex Pyromalus* (in which, however, the bishop apparently entered before the antiphon to await the introit from a throne in the nave) and the Johannisberg version, *loc. cit.* in note 86.

(88) See TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 182 ff, 200 ff.

(89) This change has provoked a shift in the place where minor orders are conferred, from skeuophylakion to narthex to nave, as seen in the following MSS: 8th c. *Barberini 336*, f. 172r (GOAR², p. 204); 11th c. *Coislin Gr. 213*, f. 33v; 12-13th c. *Grottaferrata Gb I*, f. 46r (GOAR², p. 204); 14th c. *Sabas 362* (DMITR II, pp. 297-8). Cf. GOAR², pp. 203 and 205 n. 2; C. VAGAGGINI, *L'ordinazione delle diaconesse nella tradizione greca e bizantina*, OCP 40 (1974) p. 181.

(90) DMITR I, p. 168.

(91) DMITR II, p. 304.

(92) BACHA, pp. 443, 448.

(93) 46-53, PG 155, 717-20.

In present practice, during the second antiphon the concelebrating presbyters, who had been standing before the bishop's throne in the nave during the enarxis, enter the sanctuary by the side doors to join there the presbyter and deacon leading the rite of the enarxis (94). At the third or introit antiphon, all exit via the north door in solemn procession, led by acolytes and the deacon bearing the Gospel, and go to meet the bishop at his throne. The bishop recites the introit prayer, blesses the entrance, and kisses the Gospel proferred to him by the deacon (95). Then the deacon cries "*Wisdom! Stand!*" and all the ministers intone the *eisodikon* or entrance verse of the introit antiphon (Ps 94:6a) (96) as the bishop, holding the trikerion and dikerion, descends from his throne and precedes the ministers into the sanctuary, led by the deacon with the Gospel. At the doors of the sanctuary the bishop turns to bless the congregation thrice with the candles, then enters, kisses the altar, and incenses the altar, sanctuary, iconostasis and congregation.

This blessing of the people at the entrance is not found in our document, nor in any other MS of the pontifical rite, nor in Old-Ritualist usage. It appears for the first time in the 17th century reform of the Russian liturgy (97).

What all sources do have, however — though not always in the same place or sequence — is:

1) a blessing of the altar with the candles;

2) an incensation, originally of the altar alone.

Our document has the patriarch perform this ritual toward the end of the Trisagion, after reciting the verses of Ps 79 that accompany this chant (cf. **II. 8-9**, and the next section of the commentary,

(94) This is the older usage, in which the enarxis is performed by one presbyter and one deacon (cf. note 86). In the *činovnik* (Moscow 1798, ff. 12v-13v; Warsaw 1944, f. 4r-v), however, we see the modern Slavic usage of having a second priest enter the sanctuary after the first antiphon, to say the second prayer and its ecphonesis, and a third after the second antiphon, to say the third prayer and its ecphonesis. In the Old-Ritualist rubrics, only one priest enters the sanctuary for the enarxis, but the bishop himself chants the ecphoneseis (*Edinovercy Činovnik*, Moscow 1910, ff. 24r-28r).

(95) Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 81 ff.

(96) *Ibid.* pp. 85 ff.

(97) *Dejanija*, ff. 28v-29r.

below). In later archieratica the deacon (Arabic pontifical) or, more usually, the bishop (Gemistos, Andreas Skete codex) incenses the altar, and the bishop blesses it with the trikerion (Arabic pontifical) or dikerion (98). Gemistos even has him say Ps 79: 15b-16a while blessing. This verse, found here only in Gemistos, was undoubtedly attracted to the blessing of the altar by parallelism with the blessing at the Trisagion — and that offers us the most likely key to the whole development of this complex rite.

Originally, the blessing and incensation of the altar were rituals of reverence to the holy table upon first entering the sanctuary. To render homage with candles and incense was a common Byzantine practice. Patriarchs were accompanied by lights when they walked abroad (99), and it was customary to light a candle and to incense upon entering church for prayer (100). The procession to the church for the Divine Liturgy was accompanied by thurible and candles as well as Gospel and cross (101).

The 10th century *Book of Ceremonies*, describing the role of the emperors at the introit of the patriarchal eucharist in Hagia Sophia, is our earliest witness to this form of homage at the Divine Liturgy:

> "... the sovereigns ... go up to the Royal Doors, where they give thanks to God, bowing down three times with the candles. And when the patriarch has finished the prayer, the introit takes place...

(98) BACHA, p. 449; DMITR I, p. 169; II, p. 305. Also SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *ET* 58-59, PG 155, 721.

(99) BALSAMON († 1214), *Meditata sive responsa*, PG 138, 1016-20.

(100) Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* I, p. 6; *De cerimoniis*, VOGT, I, 1, pp. 10-13; 9, pp. 58-60; 10, p. 69; 31 (32), p. 117; 32 (33), pp. 122-3; 39 (30), pp. 154-5; 44 (35), p. 170; THEOSTERICTUS, *Vita s. Nicetae Confessoris* († 824) 36, PG 100, 130 note d; IGNATIUS DIACONUS, *Vita s. Nicephori* (patriarch 806-15) 69, PG 100, 129; BALSAMON, *In can. 69 Conc. in Trullo*, PG 137, 753.

(101) See for example *De cerimoniis*, VOGT, I, 1, pp. 10-13; 9, pp. 58-60; 10, p. 69; 32 (33), pp. 122-3; 39 (30), pp. 154-5; the 11th c. codex *Paris Coislin Gr. 213*, f. 79v, DMITR II, p. 1009; the illustrations in the 6th c. mosaic of S. Vitale, Ravenna, and the 10th c. Menologion of Basil II, BRAUN, pp. 159, 236; *Menologio* II, plates 142, 350 (= stational processions before the liturgy: cf. *infra*, note 114). Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 88-9; MATHEWS, pp. 146-7.

> When the sovereigns have arrived at the inlaid porphyry circle near the Holy Doors, the patriarch alone enters within the chancel and takes his place by the Holy Door to the left. And the sovereigns, after giving thanks to God by bowing down three times with the candles, enter ... [and] kiss the image on the altar cloth... Then the sovereigns go with the patriarch via the right side of the sanctuary to the apse where the golden crucifix is placed, and there once again they render thanks to God by bowing three times with the candles, as is customary, and the patriarch gives the thurible to the chief emperor, and he incenses the same holy crucifix...

Then the sovereigns take leave of the patriarch and proceed to their oratory where they will attend the liturgy, and there again they worship thrice with the candles (102). At the Annunciation liturgy the emperor incenses around the altar (103).

The contemporaneous Typicon of the Great Church notes that at vespers on Holy Thursday and Good Friday the patriarch makes his entrance "without incense and candelabra" — a sure indication that they usually accompanied him at such introits (104).

So worship with candles and incense by emperor or patriarch seems to have been a common element in the opening rites of Byzantine services, and was probably borrowed from secular imperial ritual (105). It originally took place as in our MS, during the Trisagion, which in the 10th century was intoned as soon as the procession entered the church (106). Later developments in the opening rites of the liturgy tended to separate the actual entrance from this obeisance rite. This provoked a shifting forward of the blessing of the altar with the candles, as in the Arabic

(102) VOGT I, 1, pp. 11-12.

(103) VOGT I, 39 (30), pp. 154-55.

(104) MATEOS, *Typicon* II, pp. 74, 80; cf. p. 84 and I, p. 182.

(105) At least in later sources the emperor, like the patriarch, incensed and gave the blessing with the trikerion upon entering the sanctuary (BALSAMON, *In. can. 69 Conc. in Trullo*, PG 137, 753. See also the other references in note 100). On the adoption of secular ceremonial by church dignitaries, see BRAUN, *passim*; T. KLAUSER, *Die Ursprung der bischöflichen Insignien und Ehrenrechte*, in *Gesammelte Arbeite zur Liturgiegeschichte, und christlichen Archäologie*, hrsg. von E. DASSMANN (= *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband 3, 1974) Münster 1974, 195-211.

(106) Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon II*, index liturgique, p. 322: τρισάγιον, b.

pontifical, which has the bishop bless the sanctuary three times with the trikerion during the singing of the troparia, i.e. before the synapté, Trisagion prayer, and Trisagion (107). In other sources such as the archieratica of Gemistos and Andreas Skete, it led to a doubling of this blessing, once at the entrance — this time with dikerion — and again, with the trikerion, during the Trisagion (see below, section II. c). The single blessing in our MS and in the Arabic pontifical, and the presence of Ps 79 at the opening blessing in Gemistos, where it certainly has no place, supports this hypothesis that originally the incensation and blessing with the candles comprised a single opening rite of homage at the introit of the liturgy, during the singing of the Trisagion.

The varying location of the opening incensation seems the result of the same phenomenon. In our document it comes toward the end of the Trisagion (**II. 9-10**). *Sinai 1020* (15th century) still has it at the end of the Trisagion, after the accession to the throne (108), though all other sources after our document have displaced it to the entrance.

Today, except in Greek usage when the celebrant is an archimandrite, this introit incensation is not customary at the presbyteral eucharist, but it seems to have been the ancient practice there too, although only a few MSS mention it. The 10th century codex *Leningrad 226* (CHR) says only that the deacon carries the thurible in the procession (109), but somewhat later in the same century, in *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, we find a simple offering of incense (CHR, f. 1v): "Εἶτα βάλλει θυμίαμα ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν θυμιατόν," to which 11th century Georgian CHR adds a blessing: "*Diaconus super « Gloria » praebet sacerdoti incensum, sacerdos crucem describat, diaconus deponat et sacerdos hanc orationem Ingressus pronuntiet...*" (110). There is a parallel incensation during the *Kyrie* of the Roman mass.

(107) BACHA, pp. 448-51.
(108) DMITR II, p. 368.
(109) KRASNOSEL'CEV, p. 285.
(110) *Version géorg.* p. 92. There is also an incensation at the presbyteral service in two later sources: 13th c. *Patmos 719*, DMITR II, p. 173; 14th c. *Grottaferrata Gb III* (*Codex Basilii Falascae*) GOAR², p. 87.

II. Trisagion and Procession to the Throne

a. The signal with the orarion and the ecphonesis

As in other pre-12th century sources, the sign given by the deacon with his orarion, and the permission of the bishop to signal the time to begin the Trisagion (**II. 1**), have no connection with the doxology of the Trisagion prayer (111), which in our MS is not chanted aloud. But in other sources, when the synapté was inserted here at what was then the beginning of the liturgy, the ecphonesis of the Trisagion prayer came to be chanted aloud to terminate the litany (112).

b. Origins in the stational liturgy

Our document confirms Mateos' hypothesis that the synapté, Trisagion prayer, and chant were added to the opening of the Liturgy of the Word through the influence of the stational services of Constantinople (113). Up until the 10th century, eucharistic liturgies in the capital were often preceded by a stational procession to the church (114). On the way a brief rogation (λιτή) was sometimes celebrated, comprising (115):

synapté
Trisagion prayer
prayer of inclination
procession to the church while
chanting the Trisagion

(111) MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 91-7, discusses this question thoroughly, and we adopt his conclusions here.
(112) *Ibid.*, pp. 93-6.
(113) *Ibid.*, pp. 112-17; cf. TAFT, *Liturgies*, pp. 367-8.
(114) *Ibid.*, pp. 364 ff; *Typicon* II, pp. 304-5 (index liturgique: λιτή). The 10th century Menologion of Basil II depicts rogational processions before the liturgy on Sept. 25, Oct. 26, and Jan. 26, commemorations in the typicon of the earthquakes on those dates in 447, 740, and 450 (*Typicon* I, pp. 44-9, esp. 45 note 2, 78-81, 212-3; *Menologio* I, pp. 19 (65), 38 (142), 95 (350), II, plates 65, 142, 350).
(115) MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 117. Note the prayer of inclination, which did not become part of the eucharistic rite.

introit into church
doxa of the Trisagion
etc.

According to our diataxis, the synapté was chanted at the introit only when there was no preceding rogation (**II. 4**) — which would seem to betray where it came from in the first place.

c. Execution of the Trisagion (II. 2-18)

Our MS gives only the conclusion of the Trisagion chant: *Gloria patri* and *perissé* or final double repetition of the refrain, as was customary at the end of an antiphonal psalm ([116]). But from the archieratica of Gemistos and Andreas Skete we can reconstruct (in brackets) the rest of the chant as it was executed in our document:

[*Psalmists*: Trisagion three times.
People: Trisagion once.]
Psalmists: Gloria patri ... (**II. 6**).
Bishop: Ps 79:15-16a three times, while holding the candles; then he blesses over the altar, gives back the candles, takes the thurible and holds it briefly before the altar (**II. 7-10**).
Psalmists: Trisagion once; the bishop goes to the throne in the apse (**II. 13**).
People: Trisagion once; the bishop blesses the people thrice (**II. 18**).

This is almost the same as what we find in the archieratica of Gemistos and Andreas Skete ([117]), except that in these sources:

1) the clergy have taken over the role of the people in singing the refrain — a common occurrence in the degeneration of antiphonal psalmody.

2) They sing it an additional time, right after the *Gloria patri*, before the *perissé*, probably to preserve the alternation with the psalmists, who had just had their turn while singing the doxology.

3) The blessing of the altar with the candles is specified

([116]) Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 17-20; TAFT, *Great Entrance*, p. 88.
([117]) DMITR I, p. 170; II, pp. 306-7, translated in MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 108-9.

as a triple blessing with the trikerion ([118]). Today it is done with the dikerion.

4) There is no incensation; it was done earlier, at the introit.

It is clear from what we know of Byzantine antiphonal psalmody that 1) and 2) are innovations ([119]); we have already seen that the same is true of 4).

The execution of the chant in the pontifical rite has preserved some vestiges of earlier practice, following Baumstark's "law" concerning the conservatism of more solemn and less frequently celebrated seasons and services ([120]). The opening triple repetition of the refrain, with concluding doxology and *perissé* or final repetition of the refrain, are the beginning and end of what was once an antiphonal psalm, the processional antiphon for the stational service. And, as Mateos has proposed ([121]), the verses of Ps 79 said by the deacon (*Sinai 1021*) ([122]) or bishop, are probably the débris of the psalm of the antiphon, once chanted by the soloist, to which the Trisagion served as troparion or refrain.

The Gemistos and Andreas Skete pontificals, as well as present practice, give Ps 79:15b-16a according to the LXX text, with the *incipit* "Lord, Lord...", instead of "Lord God of powers" as in the LXX (verse 8) and in our MS (**II. 7**). But in our MS the final repetition has the *incipit* "Holy Trinity" (**II. 7**). It is worth noting the similarity between this and the old Slavic usage, still preserved in the Old-Ritualist books ([123]):

> Lord, Lord, look down from heaven and see, and look upon this vine and restore it, which your right hand has planted. May

([118]) Likewise with the trikerion in SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *ET* 61, PG 155, 721, and in the early pontificals of Suprasl' (1716) and Uniev (1740). Cf. *Obozrenie*, pp. 375-6. These pontificals also have the psalm verses with the blessing of the altar, not of the people as in today's usage. Here, as in other matters too, Ruthenian practice preserved an older usage, but the whole rite of blessing and psalm verses has been suppressed in the new pontifical (Rome 1973-5, pp. 42-3).
([119]) Cf. the references in note 116.
([120]) A. BAUMSTARK, *Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit*, *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 7 (1927) 1-23; ID., *Comparative Liturgy*, Westminster Md. 1958, pp. 26 ff.
([121]) *Célébration*, p. 110.
([122]) DMITR II, p. 368.
([123]) See the *Edinovercy Činovnik*, Moscow 1910, f. 31r-v; also the old Ruthenian pontificals in SIPOVIČ, pp. 42-3; *Obozrenie*, p. 376.

your hand be on the man, your right hand on the son of man, whom you have strengthened (vv. 15b-16a, 18; cf. v. 16b).

Lord God of powers turn to us, let your face shine upon us and we shall be saved (v. 20; cf. vv. 4, 8).

Trinity thrice-holy, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, look down from heaven from your holy dwelling (Ps 32(33): 13a, 14a) and bless us all.

The 15th century *Sinai 1021* presents other interesting peculiarities (124):

And the psalmists: the Trisagion.

The bishop: likewise the Trisagion twice, and once at the throne.

The deacon, taking the trikerion, and going to the doors, says: Bless the glory of the Lord.

The bishop, having lit the candle (125) *of the trikerion, says*: The revelation of the Trinity...

Then after the procession to the throne:

And after the end of the Trisagion, the bishop incenses.

d. The blessing from the throne (II. 18)

In the Arabic pontifical the triple blessing of the people from the throne is done with cross (126); in Gemistos and Symeon of Thessalonika with the trikerion (127), as is still the practice today. In the Slavonic *činovnik*, the archdeacon says the troparion *"The revelation of the Trinity..."* (*Troicy javlenie vo Iordane byst'*) as he gives the trikerion to the bishop just before the blessing (128). This is the fourth refrain of the eighth ode of Theophany matins (January 6) (129): Τριάδος ἡ φανέρωσις ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ γέγονεν ... I have

(124) DMITR II, pp. 367-8.

(125) DMITR II, p. 368 gives the reading "τὸ μίαν [sic] τοῦ τρικερίου." Perhaps it should be "τὸ πηνίον τοῦ τρικερίου."

(126) BACHA, p. 451.

(127) DMITR II, p. 306; SYMEON, *ET* 62, PG 155, 721. A triple blessing at the end of the Trisagion is also mentioned in the *Protheoria* 15, PG 140, 437; PS.-SOPHRONIUS, *Commentarius liturgicus* 17, PG 87³, 3997.

(128) *Činovnik*, Moscow 1798, ff. 19v-20r; Warsaw 1944, f. 5v. The new Ruthenian pontifical (Rome 1973-5) mentions neither troparion nor blessing (p. 43), though the blessing with the trikerion is found in the old Ruthenian pontificals (*Obozrenie*, p. 375).

(129) *Menaia* III, Rome 1896, p. 152.

not found this usage in the old Russian books prior to the diataxis of Patriarch Athanasius in the Muscovite synodal decrees of 1667 (130). This, along with its appearance in *Sinai 1021* (131), would seem to indicate it as a 15th century Greek innovation. Note that in *Sinai 1021* it is said during the Trisagion, while the bishop lights the trikerion at the holy doors. This substantiates what we said above. Upon entering, the bishop incensed the altar and blessed it with the candles, then went to the throne and blessed the people. And none of this originally had anything to do with the antiphon, Ps 79 with Trisagion, which was being sung while the entrance rite was accomplished.

One final remark. The cryptic rubric (**II. 18**) that the bishop blesses the people from the throne at the completion of the Trisagion "after the archdeacon has become silent", probably refers to the custom of chanting acclamations in honor of the patriarch or bishop and other dignitaries, a practice still found in the Russian *Činovnik* (132). They are chanted right after the bishop enters and incenses the sanctuary before the Trisagion and accession to the throne. But according to Gemistos (133), at liturgies during which an episcopal ordination took place, the acclamations were chanted after the accession to the throne, as in our MS. In Slavonic *služebniki* of the Russian recension we still find a relic of these acclamations even in the presbyteral rite, when the deacon exclaims: *Gospodi spasi blagočestivyja, i uslyši ny!* (134).

III. The Scripture Lessons and Psalmody

The Word Service in the pontifical presents no surprises. I have already commented above on the blessing before the Gospel and on the incense prayer. Note also that there is no *"peace to*

(130) It is in the *Dejanija* (f. 49r) but not in the earlier sources, nor in the *Edinovercy Činovnik* or old Ruthenian books.

(131) DMITR II, p. 368.

(132) *Činovnik*, Moscow 1789, ff. 16v-17v.

(133) DMITR II, p. 307.

(134) Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 122-2. Mateos says that the Rumanians have the same usage. On this subject see T. KLAUSER, *Akklamation*, RAC 1 (1950) 216-33, and the literature there noted, to which should be added E. H. KANTOROWICZ, *Laudes regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship*, Berkeley 1946.

all" attached to the admonition preceding the Gospel (**III. 11**: "*Wisdom, arise, let us listen to the holy Gospel*"), as in the *textus receptus*. The earlier sources do not have this greeting, nor do the books of the Ruthenian recension right up to modern times (135).

The reference in **III. 17** to the patriarch "bowing and kissing one of the revered crosses" as he descends from the throne in the apse seems to indicate the presence of a crucifix or processional cross behind the altar, as in the *Book of Ceremonies* I, 1 (cited above, section I.b).

IV. The Litanies and Prayers

Before the ecphonesis of the ektené prayer the bishop blesses the people three times (**IV. 6**). This practice is found in our earliest sources of the pontifical liturgy (136). It is also found in the 12-13th century presbyteral liturgy (137).

In the old Slavonic *činovnik* this blessing had attracted to it verses we have already seen in the entrance rite:

> O Lord, save the Tsar and hear us, on this day when we call upon you (while blessing the people with the dikerion).
>
> Lord, Lord, look down from heaven ... (Ps 79:15b-16a, while blessing the clergy) (138).

A similar practice is still preserved in Ruthenian and Ukrainian usage, though the order is reversed, the psalm verse and blessing with the trikerion coming first (139).

(135) MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 144-5.

(136) *Codex Pyromalus*, GOAR², p. 154; Johannisberg version, COCHLAEUS, p. 122.

(137) *Tuscan*, p. 147; *Otranto*, p. 66; Armenian CHR, AUCHER, p. 381; Georgian CHR in the 12-13th c. codex *Graz Georg. 5*, M. TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae antiquiores* (= CSCO 123, scr. iber. ser. I. tom. I, versio) p. 53.

(138) *Edinoverey Činovnik*, Moscow 1910, ff. 38v-39r, and the old Ruthenian pontificals, *Obozrenie*, p. 377. The MS edited by SIPOVIČ, pp. 51-55, has the exclamations for the ruler and hierarchy, with blessings, but no verses of Ps 79.

(139) Cf. *Pontifical Divine Liturgy and Ceremony of Consecration of H. E. The Most Rev. Stephen J. Kocisko...* (Pittsburgh 1956) pp. 54-5; *Ceremony of Consecration of H. E. The Most Rev. Platon V. Kornyljak...* (Philadelphia 1959) pp. 60-63. But the new Roman edition of the Ruthenian pontifical simply omits the blessings with verses of Ps 79 both here and at the Trisagion (Rome 1973-5, pp. 42, 48-50).

V-VI. The Great Entrance and Accessus ad altare Rites

The Great Entrance and *accessus* rites present the following archaic features:

1) the bishop says the Cherubic Hymn once, not three times (**V. 3**), and there are no commemorations or other later formulae at the Great Entrance (140).

2) the only incensation is that of bishop, altar, and gifts after the Great Entrance (**V. 8-9**) (141).

3) the *lavabo* (**VI. 1-3**) still comes after the deposition of the gifts, in its primitive role as opening rite of the *accessus ad altare* (142).

4) the *orate fratres* (**VI. 5-6**) is an earlier redaction of the 12th century new Constantinopolitan recension, and retains its original purpose as a dialogue among concelebrants (143).

VII. The Kiss of Peace and Creed

The introduction to the kiss of peace (**VII. 11**) retains its simple early form ("*Let us love one another*") without the later addition ("*so that with unanimity we may confess*") and trinitarian response (144). Nor are any of the other later additions indicated. "*In wisdom*" is found at the introduction to the creed. This is the earliest Constantinopolitan source in which I have seen this addition. It appears in the *Protheoria* and in several Oriental and Italian sources from the 11th century on, but not in other Constantinopolitan sources until the 12th century (145).

IX. The Fraction and Commixture

The only formula at the "manual actions" is that of the commixture (**IX. 5**). The sources show considerable variety in commixture formulae. The one in our MS is the same found in the earliest MS of the Old Constantinopolitan redaction of CHR,

(140) TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 223 ff.

(141) *Ibid.* pp. 154 ff.

(142) *Ibid.* pp. 168 ff.

(143) *Ibid.* pp. 294 ff.

(144) *Ibid.* pp. 381 ff.

(145) Cf. *Protheoria* 19, PG 140, 444; TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 405 ff.

Sevastianov 474 (146) (10th century), and is still in use among the Slavs (147).

Also noteworthy is the absence in the very detailed rubrics of the "manual actions" of any mention of the *zeon* — i.e. the custom of adding boiling water to the chalice right after the commixture. Actually, it appears very rarely in even the most detailed rubrics — the 13-14th century diataxis in codex *Moscow Synod 275 (381)* is the only one before Philotheus' to give it (148) — though we know it existed long before that (149). The history of this unique ritual remains to be written.

X. Communion

a. Communion of the clergy

The only prayer before communion is the Holy Thursday troparion *Cenae tuae* (**X. 1**), as in other contemporary sources (150). The later multiplication of these clerical communion devotions are a medieval phenomenon, undoubtedly the product of monastic piety.

The bishop does not give himself communion, as in modern usage, but receives it from a concelebrant, whom he communicates

(146) Krasnosel'cev, p. 276. For the formula in other sources, see Jacob's introduction to *Version géorg.*, pp. 83-4.

(147) *Ispolnenie Ducha Svjatago.*

(148) N. F. Krasnosel'cev, *Materialy dlja istorii činoposledovanija Liturgii svjatago Ioanna Zlatoustago* (Kazan 1889) p. 28. Cf. the other diataxeis in the same work, as well as the one in 12-13th c. codex *Ethnikè Bibliothèkè 662* and that of Philotheus, in Trempelas, p. 13.

(149) It is found, for example, in the 11th c. *Protheoria* 36, PG 140, 464, and in the 12th c. version of Leo Tuscan (*Tuscan*, pp. 159-60), although it is omitted in the slightly later Orantan revision of the same text (*Oranto*, p. 104). Much earlier, the Armenian Katholikos Moses II (574-604) makes a slighting reference to the Byzantines using hot water in the liturgy (Isaac Katholikos of Armenia Magna, *Narratio de rebus armeniae*, PG 132, 1248-9). But this does not necessarily refer to the present *zeon* rite before communion. It is quite possible that hot water was added to the chalice at the prothesis too. See the letter of Elias of Crete (*c.* 1111) on the prothesis, edited by V. Laurent, *Le rituel de la proscomidie et le métropolite de Crète Élie*, REByz 16 (1958) pp. 116-42, cf. lines 139, 159 ff, 269 ff. Additional texts are cited by J.-M. Hanssens, *Institutiones liturgicae de ritus orientalibus* (Rome 1930) II, pp. 235 ff.

(150) E. g. the diataxis of the 12-13th c. codex *Ethnikè Bibl. 662* (Trempelas, p. 13).

in turn (**X. 2-11**). We see the same practice in other documents of the period (151).

b. Communion antiphon

Most interesting of all is the presentation of the *koinonikon* or *communio* (**X. 13-17, 25**) in an intermediate stage of development from its primitive structure to present-day usage.

Today:	BM Add. 34060:
(1) *Priest*: "Holy things for the holy".	(1) same
(2) *People*: "One [is] holy, one Lord, Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, amen".	(2) same
(3) *People*: koinônikon = variable psalm verse with triple alleluia.	(3) —
(4) "Manual actions", communion.	(4) same, with Ps 33 during people's communion.
(5) *Priest* (blessing people with chalice): "Save, O God, your people and bless your inheritance".	(5) *Bishop* (blessing people): "The blessing of the Lord be upon us . . ." (*lavabo*; *Nunc dimittis*; incense prayer, incensation).
(6) *People*: "We have seen the true light, we have received the heavenly spirit, we have found the true faith, worshipping the undivided Trinity, that has saved us". (During this chant the gifts are returned to the altar, prepared for removal, and incensed, with accompanying formulae).	(6) —
(7) *Priest*: (silently) "Blessed is our God (aloud) always now and ever, and unto ages of ages".	(7) *Bishop*: same (silently, as "permission").
(8) *People*: "Amen. May our mouth be filled with your praise, O Lord, because you have made us worthy to partake of your holy, immortal and most-pure mysteries, so that we may sing your glory, meditating all day on your justice, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia". (During this chant the gifts are removed to the prothesis).	(8) same

(151) *Tuscan*, p. 160; the 12th c. codex *Grottaferrata Gb II*, J.-M. Hanssens, *De concelebratione* (*cit. supra*, note 62) p. 512. See this article for a more complete discussion of communion rites in the Byzantine and other Eastern traditions. And cf. also the communion rubrics in Gemistos (DMITR II, pp. 315-16).

We have already outlined elsewhere the history of the *koinonikon* (152), which is now no more than a single psalm verse with triple alleluia chanted right after *"One is holy..."* (cf. **VIII. 7**). The *Chronicon paschale* for the year 624 shows that this was not the original form of the chant. The passage describes the introduction of a variant troparion into the liturgy under Patriarch Sergius I (610-38):

> In this year in the month of Artemesius — May according to the Romans — on the 12th indiction, under Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople, it was then first introduced that after all have received the Holy Mysteries, when the clergy are about to return to the skeuophylakion the precious ripidia, patens and chalices, and other sacred vessels; and after giving communion from the side tables, everything is brought back to the holy altar; and finally, after chanting the final verse of the *koinonikon*; this troparion is sung: "May our mouth be filled with your praise, O Lord... (153).

From this one can see that:

> 1) the original *koinonikon* comprised not just one psalm verse with alleluia, but an entire psalm;
>
> 2) the new troparion *"May our mouth be filled with your praise..."*, now called *Plérothéto* after its *incipit*, was added as a variant *perissé* or concluding refrain to be chanted after the doxology of the antiphonal psalm;
>
> 3) the phrase *"Always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages"* (7) that the priest chants today to introduce this refrain is simply the remains of that same doxology.

And in fact a study of the manuscript tradition shows all the intervening material found today between the communion verse (3) and the remains of the doxology (7) to be a later addition. None of it appears in any source earlier than the 12th century, including the clause *"Blessed is our God"* that has been appended to the finale of the doxology (*"always now and forever..."*) to give it some sense (154). So what we have is the débris of what was once an antiphon — its beginning and end, with a lot of later

(152) TAFT, *Liturgies*, pp. 376-7.
(153) PG 92, 1001.
(154) Cf. *Tuscan*, p. 160; codex *Ethnikè Bibl. 662*, TREMPELAS p. 15; codex *EM 6*, p. 33; etc.

free-floating bits and pieces added after the original unit had disintegrated.

Our MS is the only one I know of after the *Chronicon paschale* to give the communion antiphon in something near to its original form. But our document already shows signs of decomposition. The *Plérothéto* (**X. 25**) has already been separated from the psalm (**X. 17**), and, furthermore, it is not at all certain that Ps 33 was the normal psalm of the Byzantine *antiphona ad communionem*.

The earliest references to a communion psalm all agree on Ps 33, chosen obviously because of verse 9: "Taste and see how good is the Lord!" Cyril of Jerusalem († 386), after commenting on the *"One is holy..."*, says: "After this you hear the psalmist inviting you to the communion of the Holy Mysteries with a sacred melody and saying: *Taste and see how good is the Lord"* (155). Jerome in his *Commentary on Isaiah* written in Bethlehem around 407-10 refers to the same verse: "...cotidie caelesti pane saturati dicimus: *Gustate et uidete, quam suavis est Dominus"* (156). From the environs of Antioch we read in the *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII, 13, 16-17 of a similar practice, after the "One is holy..." and the communion of the ministers (157):

> **16.** And let Ps 33 be said during the communion of all the rest.
> **17.** And when all the men and women have received communion, let the deacons take what is left and bring it to the pastophoria.

According to the hypothesis of H. Leeb in his excellent study of the Jerusalem chants, Ps 33, sung responsorially with verse 9 as *responsorium* — Jerome says the people sing it *daily* — was probably the original, common communion psalm of the ancient Christian tradition (158). It remains so to this day in the Jerusalem Liturgy of St. James (159). And the very term for the communion

(155) *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, ed. A. PIÉDAGNEL, trad. P. PARIS (= SC 126) Paris 1966, pp. 168-70.
(156) II, v, 20, CCL 73, p. 77.
(157) FUNK I, p. 518.
(158) H. LEEB, *Die Gesänge im Gemeindegottesdienst von Jerusalem (vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert)* (= *Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie*, Bd. 28) Vienna 1970, pp. 124-32.
(159) MERCIER, p. 232 lines 22-3.

chant in Georgian, "*ganic'adē*" (= "taste"), comes from the *incipit* of Ps 33:9 (160).

But eventually, according to Leeb's reconstruction of the history of the Jerusalem communion chant, other psalm verses came to be added as *responsoria* and, eventually, even troparia or non-scriptural refrains, turning the responsorial psalm into an antiphon in text if not in mode of execution. The same process was operative in Constantinople. The 10th century Typicon of the Great Church indicates seventeen psalmic responses, four other biblical ones (Prov 10.7, Lk 1:46, Jn 6:56, Tit 2:11), and three ecclesiastical compositions (161). The most frequently used are Ps 18:5 (7 times), 32:1 (100 times), 111:6 (16 times), 115:4 (23 times), 148:1 (17 times). Ps 33:9 occurs only four times, three of them in the Presanctified Liturgy (162). So Constantinople does not show strong evidence in favor of Ps 33 as its primitive *communio* psalm. But on the other hand the early evidence presents no other contenders. So the question cannot yet be resolved in the present state of our knowledge.

c. Conclusion of the communion rites

The communion rites conclude with a blessing: "*The blessing of the Lord be upon us, always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages*" (**X. 18**), followed by the incensation of the gifts (**X. 20-22**) before returning them to the prothesis. Today this text is used as a blessing after the opisthambonos prayer, and the blessing after communion is from Ps 27 (28): 9a: "*Save, O God, your people and bless your inheritance*", after which the people sing the troparion "*We have seen the true light*" from vespers of Pentecost (163). The psalmic blessing first appears in 12-13th century

(160) LEEB (*op. cit. supra* note 158), pp. 124 ff. However it is singular, not plural as in the psalm text.

(161) MATEOS, *Typicon* II, pp. 219, 301. In TAFT, *Liturgies* (p. 377), I affirm that the single psalm verse (*koinonikon* = *pričasten*) given in today's liturgical books is the *incipit* of the psalm. After studying the question further, I now believe that these verses are the old *responsoria* of the communion psalm.

(162) MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 301.

(163) *Pentecostarion*, Rome 1883, p. 390.

sources, but the troparion is a modern addition (164). Most MSS give no response at all, though some 15-16th century euchologies have εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, δέσποτα (165).

I know of no other source that has at this point of the liturgy the blessing our document gives. Contemporary sources do have it — sometimes twice — after the opisthambonos prayer (166), and an expanded form of it is still found there in the *textus receptus* (167). The earliest source in which I have found it is Georgian CHR in the 11th century codex *Sinai Georg. 89* (168).

The incensation of the gifts before returning them to the prothesis (**X. 20-22**) is testified to in the same source (169). There, too, it is accompanied by an incense prayer, as was indicated above (170).

XI. Thanksgiving and Dismissal

After the usual postcommunion prayer (**XI. 3**), the liturgy concludes with the opisthambonos prayer (**XI. 7**), the original final blessing of the Byzantine eucharist (171). The additional blessings and other formulae that now encumber the present dismissal rites begin to appear in 10-12th century sources (172),

(164) The 12th c. MS *Barberini Gr. 316* has the blessing without any formula — undoubtedly the first step in the evolution of this practice. The psalm verse is found in THEODORE STUDITES († 826), *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified* (PG 99, 1690 B) but that alone is enough to betray the fact that this work, at least in its present redaction, is much later than Theodore. In liturgical texts the verse first appears in the diataxis of the 12-13th c. codex *Ethnikē Bibl. 662* (TREMPELAS, p. 15); the 13th c. *Sinai Gr. 1037*, f. 99v; the diataxis in DMITR III, p. 120; and Armenian CHR (AUCHER, p. 396), with variant text as in some Greek MSS (cf. TREMPELAS, p. 151, apparatus).

(165) *Milan Ambrosiana Gr. 84* (15th c.), f. 99r; *Sinai Gr. 1919* (AD 1564), ff. 55v-56r; *Ethnikē Bibl. 751* (16-17th c.), TREMPELAS, p. 151 (apparatus).

(166) *Tuscan*, p. 162; *Otranto*, pp. 82, 107; *EM 6*, pp. 34-5, 77.

(167) BRIGHTMAN, p. 398, 18-20.

(168) *Version géorg.*, p. 118.

(169) *Loc. cit.*

(170) *Supra*, note 61. The Arabic pontifical cited there has the prayer but no blessing.

(171) See codices *Barberini 336*, BRIGHTMAN, pp. 343-4; *Sevastianov 474*, KRASNOSEL'CEV, pp. 278-80; *Leningrad 226*, *ibid.* p. 304.

(172) Cf. *Leningrad 226*, KRASNOSEL'CEV, p. 295; *Version géorg.*,

but many conservative MSS preserve the old ending until centuries later. Our diataxis makes no mention of the prayer said in the skeuophylakion at the consummation of the gifts because the bishop, obviously, had no part in the purification of the vessels after the liturgy. It is also absent from other sources of the pontifical rite, as we indicated above (173).

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p. 118; *Tuscan*, pp. 161-2; *EM 6*, pp. 34-5; 12th c. codex *Paris nouv. acq. lat. 1791*, ed. A. STRITTMATTER, *"Missa Grecorum, Missa Sancti Iohannis Crisostomi". The Oldest Latin Version known of the Byzantine Liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom*, *Traditio* 1 (1943) p. 116 (but cf. p. 130).

(173) *Supra*, notes 57-58.

Addenda: Since this article went to press, further perusal of the Russian pilgrimage literature has turned up two more brief descriptions of the pontifical eucharist that failed to attract my attention in previous examinations of this material: 1) Archbishop Anthony of Novgorod's *Pilgrim Book* (A.D. 1200), which eulogizes the liturgical splendors of Hagia Sophia and includes a brief description of the Great Entrance there: Ch. M. LOPAREV (ed.), *Kniga palomnik. Skazanie mest svjatych vo Caregrade Antonija Archiepiskopa Novgorodskago*, Pravoslavnyj PalSb 51-57, fasc. 3 (1899) pp. 12-13; 2) *The Journey of the Merchant Basil Poznjakov to the Holy Places of the East* (1558-1561), which describes a liturgy of Patriarch Joachim of Alexandria at the Church of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker in Cairo: ID., *Chožđenie kupca Vasilija Poznjakova po svjatym mestam vostoka 1558-1561 gg.*, *ibid.*, 6 fasc. 3 (1887) pp. 16-17; French trans. of both in DE KHITROWO (*op. cit. supra* note 15) pp. 93-4, 297.

III

The Authenticity of the Chrysostom Anaphora Revisited. Determining the Authorship of Liturgical Texts by Computer (*)

In memory of Louis Ligier, S.J.
Lons-le-Saunier (Jura) 13.VIII.1911 — Rome 22.XII.1989

Seventy years ago, on January 18, 1920, at this Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, then still at its original seat, the Palazzo della

(*) This article was begun in July-August 1988 while the author was a Summer Fellow in Byzantine Studies at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington D.C. I wish to express my gratitude to the Trustees for Harvard University who awarded me this fellowship, and to the Director and staff of DO, as well as to the community of Summer Fellows, for their unfailing kindness and cooperation.

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Abbreviations

ALDAMA = J. A. DE ALDAMA, *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum* (Documents, études, et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes 10, Paris 1965).

AP = The no longer extant Antiochene Greek Liturgy of the Apostles, presumed Urtext of CHR and APSyr.

ApConst = *The Apostolic Constitutions*, ed. M. METZGER, *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, t. I: livres I-II (SC 320, Paris 1985); t. II: Livres III-VI (SC 329, Paris 1986); t. III: livres VII-VIII (SC 336, Paris 1987).

APSyr = The Syriac Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles (I).

ApTrad = *The Apostolic Tradition*, see BOTTE.

AS = *Anaphorae Syriacae, quotquot in codicibus adhuc repertae sunt*, cura Pontificii Instituti Studiorum Orientalium editae et latinae versae (Rome 1939–).

Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali in the sixteenth-century Casa di Raffaello or Ospizio dei Convertendi on the Via della Con-

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BAS = The Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil.

BECK = H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich 1959).

BOTTE = B. BOTTE, *La Tradition apostolique de S. Hippolyte. Essai de reconstitution* (LQF 39, Münster 1963).

CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* = E. CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* (OCA 202, Rome 1976).

CHR = The Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

DORESSE-LANNE = J. DORESSE, E. LANNE, *Un témoin archaique de la liturgie copte de S. Basile* (Bibliothèque du *Muséon* 47, Louvain 1960).

ENGBERDING, *Anaphora* = H. ENGBERDING, *Die syrische Anaphora der zwölf Apostel und ihre Paralleltexte einander gegenüberstellt und mit neuen Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte der Chrysostomosliturgie begleitet*, OC 34 = ser. 3 vol. 12 (1938) 213-247.

HE = *Historia ecclesiastica.*

JANERAS = S. JANERAS, *L'original grec del fragment copte de Lovaina núm. 27 en l'Anàfora de Barcelona, Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* III (Barcelona 1984) 13-25.

JAS = The Greek Liturgy of St. James, ed. B.-CH. MERCIER, *La Liturgie de S. Jacques. Edition critique, avec traduction latine* (PO 26.2, Paris 1946) 115-256.

KHOURI-SARKIS, *L'origine* = G. KHOURI-SARKIS, *L'origine syrienne de l'anaphore byzantine de saint Jean Chrysostome*, OS 7 (1962) 3-68.

MK = The Alexandrian Greek Anaphora of St. Mark.

MOP = The Syriac Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

NES = The Syriac Anaphora of Nestorius.

PE = A. HÄNGGI, I. PAHL, *Prex eucharistica* (Spicilegium Friburgense 12, Fribourg 1968).

QUASTEN I, II, III = J. QUASTEN, *Patrology*, 3 vols. (Utrecht/Antwerp 1975).

RAES, *L'authenticité de CHR* = A. RAES, *L'authenticité de la Liturgie byzantine de S. Jean Chrysostome*, OCP 24 (1958) 5-16.

RAHMANI, *Fasti* = *I fasti della Chiesa patriarcale antiochena.* Conferenza d'inaugurazione tenuta in nome dell'Istituto Pontificio Orientale li 18 gennaio MXMXX da Ignazio Efrem II Rahmani, Patriarca Antiocheno dei Siri, con la pubblicazione in Appendice di varii antichissimi documenti inediti (Rome 1920).

SH = Subsidia hagiographica.

ST 145 = R. TONNEAU, R. DEVREESSE, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* (ST 145, Vatican 1949).

SyrJAS = The Syro-Jacobite recension of JAS in Syriac.

TLG = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* computerized data-base of Greek literature to ca. 600 AD.

ciliazione leading up to St. Peter's Square(1), Mar Ignatius Ephrem II Rahmani († 1929), learned Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch, delivered a solemn inaugural conference entitled *I fasti della Chiesa patriarcale antiochena*(2). During this now famous lecture, His Beatitude announced the imminent publication, in the appendix to his conference text, of "alcuni documenti liturgici" discovered by him in hitherto unknown Syriac codices(3). Among the documents adverted to with such aggravating vagueness, were some sixth-century Syriac translations of "Greco-Byzantine liturgies" representing, Rahmani said, the liturgy as it was celebrated at Constantinople in that period(4). Little wonder that the eminent audience of *Principi, Eccellenze, Signori*, including nine Princes of the Church(5), which His Beatitude deferentially addressed in his opening words, failed to realize the import of what they were hearing.

But in the publication of his conference-*cum*-appendices that same year, Rahmani, abandoning his earlier imprecision, stated forthrightly:

> For the benefit of those who are searching for the authentic text of the eucharistic Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, we give here some pas-

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VAN HAELST = J. VAN HAELST, *Une nouvelle reconstitution du papyrus liturgique de Dêr-Balizeh*, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 45 (1969) 444-455.

WAGNER = G. WAGNER, *Der Ursprung der Chrysostomusliturgie* (LQF 59, Münster 1973).

(1) On this palace, where the Pontificio Istituto Orientale was located from 1917 until 1922, see S. ZILYS, *La sede della S. Congregazione: il Palazzo dei Convertendi*, in: *La Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali nel cinquantesimo della fondazione (1917-1967)* (Rome 1969) 65-71 (cf. 69), with further bibliography, p. 71. This reference and that in the following note I owe to my colleague V. Poggi, S.J.

(2) *Relatio officialis anni academici MXMXIX-XX*, in: Pontificium Institutum Orientale, *Nuntia de rebus Instituti* (Rome 1920) 31. For an appreciation of Rahmani's scholarly achievements, see the obituary by A. RÜCKER in OC ser. 3 vol. 3-4 (1928-1929) 279-82.

(3) RAHMANI, *Fasti* 26.

(4) *Ibid.* 35.

(5) In attendance were Cardinals Billot, Gasquet, Frühwirth, Giorgi, Lega, Marini, Vannutelli, Van Rossum, and Vico. Cf. RAHMANI, *Fasti* 5 and note 1.

sages of the Syriac Liturgy of the Twelve Apostles according to the ms British Museum Add. 17.128, fol. 1 ff.(6).

With this affirmation the scholarly patriarch modestly, and seemingly unawares, pulled the pin on what hindsight shows to have been an academic hand grenade. For Rahmani's discovery, a landmark like M. J. Doresse's finding in Cairo of the Louvain fragments, four parchment folia containing the anaphora of Egyptian UrBAS in Coptic(7), or Macomber's discovery of the Mar Eš'aya Ḥudrā containing the oldest text of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari(8), would radically change the entire *status quaestionis* of the debate concerning the Urtext and authenticity of the Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (CHR).

The advent of the computer-age has shifted this *status quaestionis* once again. The manipulation of Greek liturgical texts by computer has opened vast new horizons for liturgiology. This report concerns the application of computer scanning to a single, precise issue in the history of the liturgies of Late Antiquity: the authentication of texts. This article will study the problems involved in testing supposed authorship, the methods adequate for solving them, and how computers have revolutionized the latter. I shall illustrate all this via one sample-text, the presanctus of CHR, the Greek text of which is presented below, in parallel columns, with a Latin translation of the corresponding text from the related Syriac Anaphora of the Apostles (APSyr) to which Rahmani referred in his conference of 1920.

I. The state of the question

First, some preliminaries must be dispensed with. Though a review of the entire CHR authenticity dossier is beyond the scope of this article, a summary of the state of the question is necessary to set the problem in focus.

(6) Rahmani, *Fasti* xxx; cf. Id., *Les liturgies orientales et occidentales étudiées séparément et comparées entre elles* (Beirut 1929) 388.

(7) See Doresse-Lanne.

(8) W. F. Macomber, *The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari*, OCP 32 (1966) 335-371.

Why the question arises at all is the result of three well-known facts of liturgical history:

1. The uniform silence of all early sources for the liturgy of Constantinople or for the life of John Chrysostom: not one of them attributes a liturgical formulary to the saint of that name.
2. Leontius of Byzantium's reference to a "Liturgy of the Apostles."
3. Rahmani's discovery of a Syriac anaphora of the same name very similar in text to CHR.

1. *The Attribution of an Anaphora to Chrysostom*:

Throughout the ms tradition of CHR, prayer titles unwaveringly attribute this Constantinopolitan liturgical formulary to St. John Chrysostom. These titles are a later development, however: the earliest Byzantine euchology ms, *Barberini Gr. 336*, dates only from the second half of the eighth century. Furthermore, the sobriquet "Chrysostom," used in all extant titles of CHR as proper to St. John, was once a common Byzantine epithet often applied to others. Sozomen (ca. 439-450), for instance, uses it of Antiochus, bishop of Ptolemais, a contemporary of our Chrysostom(9). And it is widely used of St. John only by the mid-sixth century, when we find it in Greek, Latin, and Syriac sources(10). But even thereafter, Chrysostom continues to be called "John of Constantinople," and it is disputed when the sobriquet "Chrysostom" finally comes to be generally accepted as a surname proper to him alone(11), though I know of no texts after the sixth century that use it of anyone else.

(9) HE VIII, 10, PG 67:1541.

(10) Greek: Dorotheos Abbot (ca. 540-560), *Doctrina 12*, 3, PG 88:1752; Ps.-Leontios of Byzantium (end 6th c.; cf. Beck, 374), *De sectis* 4, 3, PG 86.1:1221; Latin: Facundus (ca. 547), *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* IV, 2, PL 67:615; Vigilius (553), *Const. de tribus capitulis = Ep. 83*, 217, CSEL 35:291; Cassiodorus (563), *De inst. divinarum litterarum* 8, PL 70:1121; and the Syriac chronicle or HE II, 5; IV, 12, attributed to Zacharias Rhetor, bishop of Mitylene, which extends to 569 AD: E. W. Brooks (ed.), *Historia eccles. Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta* (CSCO 83/87, scr. Syri, ser. 3, t. 5, Paris 1919, 1924) 143, 196 (versio 99, 136).

(11) See C. Baur, *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire litté-*

Be that as it may, though the oldest ms of CHR, *Barberini Gr. 336*([12]), and all subsequent ones without exception, attribute CHR to him([13]), all supposedly earlier attributions of an anaphora to Chrysostom are either spurious or based on spuria([14]). No authentic historical source anterior to the ms tradition claims Chrysostom's authorship of any eucharistic formulary. As Khouri-Sarkis has pointed out([15]), not one of the numerous fifth-century Byzantine historians or chroniclers; nor even the biographers of Chrysostom, Palladius (ca. 408) in his *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*([16]), and Theodore, bishop of Tremithus on Cyprus (ca. 680), in his *On the Life and Exile of St. John Chrysostom*([17]); attribute a liturgical formulary to St. John.

This is all the more surprising because all independent external witnesses to the Constantinopolitan eucharist are unanimous in assigning authorship of a liturgy to St. Basil. This striking contrast necessitates moderating the skepticism with which the argument from silence is customarily greeted — especially when one recalls that in some instances we are dealing with polemical writings which use the liturgical formularies as proof-texts, and would have been quite ready to bolster their authority by ascribing to them, rightly or wrongly, apostolic or patristic authorship. So if they attribute a

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raire (Louvain/Paris 1907) 58-60; L. Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die edessenische Chronik* (TU 9.1, Leipzig 1893) 63-65.

([12]) Brightman 315.10-11.

([13]) Raes' argument (*L'authenticité de CHR* 7-8) that the presence of Chrysostom's name in the titles of only some prayers in the earliest mss indicates the authorship only of those texts, not of the whole anaphora, has long since been disproven. See R. Taft, *The Great Entrance* (OCA 200, 2nd ed. Rome 1978) 360-64.

([14]) See F. J. Leroy, *Proclus, «de traditione Missae»: un faux de C. Palaeocappa*, OCP 28 (1962) 288-99; Id., *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* (ST 247, Vatican 1967) 350-51.

([15]) Khouri-Sarkis, *L'origine* 6.

([16]) P. R. Coleman-Norton (ed.), *Palladii Dialogus de vita S. Johannis Chrysostomi* (Cambridge Mass. 1928) = PG 47:5-82. On the *Vitae* of Chrysostom, cf. BHG 870-873m; F. Halkin, *Douze récits byzantins sur la vie et la translation de S. Jean Chrysostome* (SH 60, Brussels 1977).

([17]) PG 47:LI-LXXXVIII = CPG 7989; cf. BHG 872-872d; Id. *Douze récits byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome* (SH 6, Brussels 1977) 7-68; Beck 463.

liturgy to Basil, why not to Chrysostom? — unless there was no such attribution tradition.

2. *Leontius of Byzantium (ca. 543)*:

In this context, Leontius of Byzantium's reference to two (possibly) Constantinopolitan anaphoras, one of St. Basil, the other of the apostles (and not of Chrysostom), has become a *crux interpretum*. Around 543([18]), in his *Adversus Nestorianos et Eutychianos* III, 19, Leontius goes after Theodore of Mopsuestia († 428)([19]) for various high ecclesial crimes, among them the fact that, not content with the liturgical formularies handed on by the fathers in the faith, to wit the Anaphora of the Apostles and the Anaphora of Basil the Great, he had to go and compose a heretical one of his own:

> He also had the effrontery to perpetuate another evil, not second to those we have mentioned. For he improvised another anaphora different from that handed on by the fathers, not respecting that of the apostles nor that of Basil the Great composed in the same spirit. . .([20]).

Leontius, born in Constantinople, it seems, towards the end of the fifth century, and later a monk in the New Laura in Palestine, was a strict Chalcedonian([21]). Hence his opposition to Theodore, whose anaphora he goes on to indict as heretical. That issue is of no concern to us here. The point is, Leontius *does not mention CHR*, and that fact has been taken as evidence that Leontius did not

([18]) Beck 373.

([19]) De Meester, *Les origines et les développements du texte grec de la Liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome, XPYCOCTOMIKA. Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo a cura del Comitato per il XV° Centenario della sua morte* (Rome 1905) 254, mistakenly directs this attack against Nestorius. See H. Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper*, with intro. and further inquiry by R. D. Richardson (Leiden 1979) 4 note 1; Wagner 9. De Meester corrects himself in *Grecques (liturgies)*, DACL VI.2:1592.

([20]) PG 86.1:1386C: Τολμᾷ καὶ ἕτερον κακὸν τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ δεύτερον. Ἀναφορὰν γὰρ σχεδιάζει ἑτέραν παρὰ τὴν πατρόθεν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις παραδεδομένην, μήτε τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων αἰδεσθείς, μήτε δὲ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι συγγραφεῖσαν, λόγου τινὸς κρίνων ἀξίαν· ἐν ᾗ ἀναφορᾷ βλασφημιῶν, οὐ γὰρ εὐχῶν, τελετὴν ἀπεπλήρωσεν.

([21]) Beck 215, 373.

know of any liturgy so named. But neither does Leontius invoke the authority of St. James, "brother of the Lord," and as a monk in Palestine he surely knew of JAS. Furthermore, as Wagner has pointed out, mentioning CHR would have undermined his argument(22). For John Chrysostom was a contemporary and classmate of Theodore in the school of Diodore of Tarsus. If Chrysostom could compose an anaphora, who was to say that Theodore should not? Leontius seems embarrassed enough by the existence of BAS, which, he stresses, was written "in the same spirit" as the apostolic canon.

Wagner refuses to concede the relevance of Leontius' testimony for the history of CHR by simply denying that Leontius is referring to the liturgy of Constantinople(23). From 392 until his death in 428, Theodore, the object of Leontius' attack, was bishop of Mopsuestia, a small town in Cilicia Secunda about 175 kilometers directly south of Caesarea in Cappadocia, home of Basil and BAS. Consequently, Wagner argues, the Caesarean redaction of the BAS formulary must have been well known to Theodore, along with other Antiochene anaphoral texts, including, undoubtedly, the aforementioned Anaphora of the Apostles. But one cannot at all presume that he would have known a text from distant Constantinople — for instance CHR.

All this is possible; none of it proves anything. For if Wagner has mounted a challenge to the use that has been made of the *argumentum ex silentio* in the case of Leontius and other texts, nevertheless, complete *silentium* still remains the case for any Chrysostom anaphora before the liturgical mss from some time after ca. 750 AD. In light of the numerous extant early references to BAS and JAS, this silence cannot be explained away.

3. *The Anaphora of the Apostles (AP)*:

Faced with the total absence of any evidence for a Chrysostom anaphora in the early historical sources, and Leontius' mention of a liturgy of the apostles, authors anterior to Rahmani had made various attempts to identify the latter(24). Already in 1726, P. Lebrun guessed that Leontius' AP had to be what we know as CHR(25).

(22) WAGNER 7.
(23) *Ibid.* 8-10.

Rahmani himself thought initially that APSyr was a direct translation of the Greek text of CHR as it was at the end of the sixth century(26). Two years later, in the *editio princeps* of APSyr appended to his edition of the *Ktāḇā d-ṭaksā d-qurrāḇā ak'yādā d-'Edtā šliḥāytā d-Anṭyokya d-Suryāyē* or *Missale iuxta ritum Ecclesiae Antiochenae Syrorum*(27), he was more cautious, asserting only that APSyr, which he mistakenly claims is attributed to St. Luke the Evangelist(28), was very similar — "in canone potissimum convenire" — to CHR.

When the text of APSyr was critically edited by Raes in 1940(29), it was learned that the two earliest mss, the tenth-century codices *British Library 286 Add. 14.493* and *287 Add. 14.496*, entitle it "Anaphora of the Holy Apostles," though other early mss specify "of the *Twelve* Holy Apostles"(30). So the attribution in the title-tradition, at least, agrees with Leontius' obscure reference. And already in 1938, Engberding had demonstrated the relationship between APSyr and CHR(31).

Raes returned to the question in 1958 without adding anything new to the work of Engberding(32), and the same must be said for the study of Khouri-Sarkis(33). These scholars all agree that the original Greek anaphora behind the Syriac version in APSyr goes back to the fourth century, probably to its beginning, and that the text must have been composed in the hellenized Syrian Christian

(24) Cf. KHOURI-SARKIS, *L'origine* 11-14.
(25) *Explication littérale, historique et dogmatique des prières et des cérémonies de la messe* (2nd ed. Paris 1843) II, 322-23; cf. KHOURI-SARKIS, *L'origine* 13-14.
(26) RAHMANI, *Fasti* xxx cited above at note 6.
(27) Sharfeh 1922, p. 13.
(28) See the critical edition of APSyr: A. RAES (ed.), *Anaphora Syriaca Duodecim Apostolorum Prima* (AS I.2, Rome 1940) 208-9. This attribution is found only in some 16th c. mss of the *Anaphora Syriaca Duodecim Apostolorum Secunda*, ed. A. RAES, *ibid.* 229-63.
(29) AS I.2:203-27.
(30) *Ibid.* 208, cf. 212, apparatus.
(31) ENGBERDING, *Anaphora*.
(32) RAES, *L'Authenticité de CHR* 5-16.
(33) KHOURI-SARKIS, *L'origine*.

community of Antioch or its environs(34). If this is true, then AP would doubtless have been familiar to Chrysostom himself before he left Antioch to become bishop of Constantinople in 398.

Rahmani had thought, however, that the Syrian Jacobite APSyr anaphora was a freely translated, somewhat abbreviated redaction of Greek CHR(35), a view substantially the same as the one Wagner will later espouse(36). Khouri-Sarkis tried to show that the differences in the two texts of CHR and APSyr result for the most part from the amplification or deterioration of the AP Urtext become CHR, an Urtext which he believes Chrysostom brought from Antioch to Constantinople, where it was then reworked into CHR(37). It is at this point in the story of the CHR authenticity dossier that Wagner enters the picture, with the only rigorous examination of the matter since Engberding's classic study(38).

II. CHR AND THE SYRIAC ANAPHORA OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

If Wagner managed to weaken somewhat the argument from the silence of sources like Leontius, his argument rests largely on an *a priori*, unproved condition: even if Chrysostom *were* the author of an anaphora, Leontius would not have mentioned it anyway. But that may be begging the question. For if Chrysostom *were not* the author of an anaphora, Leontius would not have mentioned it for that reason too!

The same can be said for Wagner's argument that Leontius does not mention CHR because he is listing not Constantinopolitan anaphoras, but ones in use in the region around Mopsuestia. Theoretically, that is of course possible. But Leontius' failure to mention JAS, and the discovery of a Syriac Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles (APSyr) that is simply another redaction of basically the same anaphora as CHR, make it equally if not more probable that Leontius,

(34) ENGBERDING, *Anaphora* 245-46; RAES, *L'authenticité de CHR* 14-16; KHOURI-SARKIS, *L'origine* 20.
(35) Note 26 above.
(36) Note 39 below.
(37) KHOURI-SARKIS, *L'origine* 68 and *passim*.
(38) WAGNER; cf. ENGBERDING, *Anaphora*.

in referring to the Liturgies of St. Basil and of the Apostles, is actually speaking of the two Constantinopolitan formularies we know as BAS and CHR.

Wagner's seminal study mounts a vigorous defense of the authenticity of CHR in the full sense. Wagner, of course, does not challenge the obvious relationship between the extant texts of CHR and APSyr. But he denies that Leontius' AP is CHR, and, like Rahmani, considers APSyr a later reworking of CHR(39), thus reversing the stemma proposed by Engberding(40) and Khouri-Sarkis(41) (and espoused also by me for reasons that will become clear in the course of this article), that AP represents both UrCHR and UrAPSyr, both of which are independent reworkings of their common Urtext, AP. I would also tend to the view that it is this AP of which Leontius speaks, though nothing in my argument is in any way dependent on his testimony.

The Texts

The following arrangement of our paradigm-text, the earliest extant redaction of the presanctus of Greek CHR(42), placed in parallel with a Latin version of APSyr(43), shows at a glance the relationship between the two texts. Italicised sections of text are peculiar to the respective redaction and have no doublet in the other.

CHR	APSyr
1. Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον	**1.** Dignum et iustum est
2. σὲ ὑμνεῖν	
3. *σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν*	
4. σε προσκυνεῖν	**4.** nos te adorare
	2. et te glorificare,

(39) WAGNER 6-10, 49-51.
(40) ENGBERDING, *Anaphora* 247.
(41) Note 37 above.
(42) BRIGHTMAN 321-23 = PE 224.
(43) AS I.2:215 = PE 265-66.

5. *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τῆς δεσποτείας σου·*	
6. σὺ γὰρ εἶ θεὸς	**6.** qui vere es Deus,
7. *ἀνέκφραστος ἀπερινόητος ἀόρατος ἀκατάληπτος,*	
8. *ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡσαύτως ὤν,*	
9. σὺ καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον·	**9.** et unigenitum Filium tuum et Spiritum Sanctum.
10. σὺ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς παρήγαγες	**10.** Tu enim ex eo quod non est, ad hoc ut simus adduxisti [nos],
11. καὶ παραπεσόντας ἀνέστησας πάλιν	**11.** et quando lapsi eramus, tunc iterum revocasti [nos]
12. καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστης πάντα ποιῶν ἕως ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγες	**12.** et non destitisti operari donec coelum ascendere faceres
13. καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐχαρίσω τὴν μέλλουσαν.	**13.** et regnum futurum dares nobis.
14. Ὑπὲρ τούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι	**14.** Propter haec omnia gratias agimus tibi
15. καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ σου υἱῷ καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ	**15.** et unigenito Filio tuo et Spiritui Sancto.
16. *ὑπὲρ πάντων ὧν ἴσμεν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν,*	
17. *τῶν φανερῶν καὶ ἀφανῶν*	
18. *εὐεργεσιῶν σου τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων·*	
19. *εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης*	
20. *ἣν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν δέξασθαι καταξίωσον*	
21. καίτοι σοὶ παρεστήκεισαν	**21.** Ante te enim "stant in circuitu"
22. *χιλιάδες ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων,*	
23. Τὰ χερουβεὶμ	**23.** "Cherubim *quattuor facies (habentes)*"

24. καὶ τὰ σεραφεὶμ ἑξαπτέρυγα *πολυόμματα μετάρσια πτερωτά,*	**24.** et "Seraphim sex alas (habentes)",
25. τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον	**25.** laudem maiestatis *oribus non silentibus et vocibus non tacentibus cum omnibus virtutibus caelestibus*
26. ᾄδοντα βοῶντα κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα·	**26.** glorificantes et vociferantes et clamantes et dicentes:
27. ἅγιος...	**27.** Sanctus...

CHR and APSyr Compared

1. *Methodological Principles*:

The following principles must govern the comparative liturgical analysis of two such related liturgical texts:

1. The comparison is limited to the Antiochene anaphoral text up through the epiclesis, i.e., exluding the last section, the anaphoral intercessions, where the two texts diverge and are independent. Anaphoral intercessions are traditionally proper to each local tradition and, hence, usually unreliable for determining authorship(44).

(44) I do not mean that a comparative study of intercession texts is not useful for determining the *relationship* between anaphoras, as Engberding and Fenwick have shown. But *relationship* and *authorship* are two separate issues, and intercessions are too laden with Formelgut to be useful as an indication of the latter. See H. ENGBERDING, *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der älteren armenischen Basiliusliturgie*, OC 51 (1967) 29-50; ID. *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der armenischen Athanasiusliturgie*, REArm, n.s. 4 (1967) 49-55; ID. *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der Basiliusliturgie*, OC 47 (1963) 18-37; ID. *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der byzantinischen Chrysostomusliturgie*, OC 45 (1961) 20-29; 46 (1962) 33-60; ID. *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der griechischen Markusliturgie*, OCP 30 (1964) 398-446; ID. *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der syrischen Basiliusliturgie*, OC 50 (1966) 13-18; J. FENWICK, *Fourth Century Anaphoral Construction Techniques* (Grove Liturgical Study 45, Bramcote, Nottingham 1986); and F's dissertation, *An Investigation into the Common Origin of the Anaphoras of the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. James* (PhD Thesis, University of London 1985) to be published in OCA.

2. Also to be discounted as evidence of commonality are all doublets which can be otherwise explained — e.g. citations from Sacred Scripture or obvious Formelgut material, that corpus of stereotyped phrases common to parallel liturgical units across the traditions.
3. Conversely, divergences attributable to another source must be discounted as evidence *against* commonality — e.g., passages of APSyr that derive from the common framework of Syro-Jacobite anaphoras borrowed from Syriac JAS; passages in CHR that derive from the Byzantine Greek anaphoral setting common to CHR and BAS.

2. *The CHR-APSyr Relationship*:

Those who have examined the structure of the parallel texts of CHR and APSyr([45]) (and not only in our presanctus paradigm), have noted the following coordinates and dissonances:

1. The core segments of all constitutive parts of both texts (ante-Sanctus, post-Sanctus and institution, anamnesis, oblation, epiclesis) are in quasi-total agreement.
2. In such core segments where the two recensions are in substantial agreement, manifesting only minor redactional variants of the same basic text, APSyr gives the shorter recension: whatever is found in APSyr is also in CHR — but not vice-versa.
3. APSyr departs substantially from CHR in two areas:

   [a] in those units of the Antiochene anaphoral structure traditionally most subject to local developments: the institution narrative, the anamnesis, and the epiclesis.

   [b] in those parts of the anaphora proclaimed aloud. Each local tradition has a more or less common framework of exclamations into which it inserts all its anaphoras, indigenous or borrowed([46]). These exclamations — the preanaphoral dialogue, the introduction to the Sanctus, the Words of Institution, the oblation, etc. — are the anaphora's conjunctions and punctation, introducing and/or concluding its constitutent parts. They also serve as signals, vocal rubrics to introduce an exclamation or chant of the people. Byzantine BAS and CHR provide the classic paradigm: these two variant eucharistic formularies of the same local Church, though substantially different texts, are, nevertheless, *identical in almost all chanted parts, including those of the anaphora itself.*

([45]) Especially ENGBERDING, *Anaphora*; WAGNER.

([46]) At least outside Egypt, which is something of an exception in preserving more of the native structure of borrowed anaphoras than do other traditions.

4. Sections of text in APSyr which differ from CHR show clear signs of the influence of SyrJAS.
5. Where CHR departs from APSyr, the added material is largely:

   [a] *stylistic*: rhetorical developments, such as the multiplication of epithets and synonyms, the smoothing out of transitional passages, etc.

   [b] *theological*: echoes of the Eunomian controversy, explicitation of the epiclesis as consecratory.

From these data, several points of which will be elucidated further below, as they appear in each section of the anaphoral text to be examined, certain provisional results may be formulated as follows:

1. In both anaphoras, the agreement of the principal segments of all constituent parts is such that this could not have resulted from the common use of a third source, or from Formelgut material([47]). *Hence CHR and APSyr must be considered different redactions of one and the same text.*
2. The fact that CHR is *longer* in parallel passages where the two texts agree substantially, renders less probable Wagner's thesis that APSyr is a later redaction of CHR. Rather, since in the parallel passages common to CHR-APSyr, everything contained in APSyr is also in CHR; and the Syriac text is *shorter* where it *agrees* with the Greek and *longer* where the difference is so substantial that the passages in question are obviously not variant redactions of a common source; it would seem:

   [a] that the Syriac recension was translated from an earlier Greek text of which CHR is a later, elaborated redaction. I have called this earlier Urtext AP. When the Syriac version which lies behind APSyr was made, this AP Urtext did not contain the later interpolations peculiar to CHR, additions which characterize those common passages where CHR shows a more developed text than APSyr (above, nos. 1-2);

   [b] that this Syriac version of AP was inserted into a West-Syrian — i.e., Syro-Antiochene or Syrian Jacobite — litur-

([47]) ENGBERDING, *Anaphora* 236.

gical framework (above, no. 3), which is the source of the Jacobite elaborations found in APSyr but not in CHR.

3. Wagner's conclusion that all this occurred after the point when the anaphora came to be recited in secret([48]), though possible, is by no means demonstrated by what was just said above in 2b. The existence of a traditional local framework of key transitional passages and vocal signals introducing popular exclamations is not dependent, strictly speaking, on the rest of the anaphora being said silently, though in the case of *later* popular interventions that interrupt the anaphora, such as the Theotokos hymn in BAS and CHR([49]), it is clear that their interpolation necessitated chanting their introductory text aloud.
4. So in CHR and APSyr we are faced with two independent reworkings of an earlier text, which can probably be identified with the Anaphora of the Apostles referred to by Leontius of Byzantium.

3. *Conclusion*:

To sum up, then, I would conclude:

1. That the Chrysostom anaphora is a later redaction of a no-longer extant Greek Anaphora of the Apostles (AP).
2. That APSyr is a later Jacobite reworking of a Syriac translation of this AP Urtext independent of CHR.

In its present form, APSyr is both similar and dissimilar to CHR. Now we know that West-Syrian anaphoras have generally been conformed to a common framework derived from SyrJAS, and that the two extant Byzantine anaphoras of CHR and BAS are both inserted into a Constantinopolitan framework, much as the various post-Vatican II Roman Catholic anaphoras all share certain acclamations and other elements. Consequently, if we exclude from APSyr

([48]) WAGNER 47-50.

([49]) BRIGHTMAN 388: 3 ff; cf. G. WINKLER, *Die Interzessionen der Chrysostomusanaphora in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, OCP 36 (1970) 320-36.

whatever is obviously from SyrJAS and not in CHR; and exclude from CHR whatever it has in common with BAS, and whatever is not in APSyr; *the remaining least common denominator should go back to the common Urtext of both, AP.*

III. DETERMINING AUTHORSHIP

Where, when, and by whom was this lost AP composed, and its two extant recensions, CHR and APSyr, redacted? Comparative structural analysis alone furnishes no reply to these questions. So we must turn to the text and its contents.

1. *Internal Indices of Authenticity*:

Since the *external* evidence is clear — the text is indeed attributed to the monk and presbyter John of Antioch, afterwards John of Constantinople, bishop of that see from 397-404, known to still later generations as St. John Chrysostom († 407) — the scholar's task is to test by *internal* evidence the validity of this attribution. This consists in identifying in the text itself such internal indices of authenticity as similar style and the repetition of vocabulary, doublets, and favored scriptural loci([50]).

The first, style, is the most intangible and the least convincing. It is of more use negatively, in showing what is *not* authentic, than positively, in proving what is([51]).

([50]) On these methods see M. AUBINEAU, *Les homélies festales d'Hesychius de Jérusalem*, 2 vols. (SH 59.1-2, Brussels 1978-1980) II, 608-614; ID., *«Hesychius redivivus». Un prédicateur hiérosolymitain de la première moitié du Ve siècle*, *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 28 (1981) 254-64, reprinted in ID., *Chrysostome, Sévérien, Proclus, Hésychius et alii. Patristique et hagiographie grecques. Inventaires de manuscrits, textes inédits, traductions, études* (Variorum Reprints Collected Studies 276, London 1988) ch. XXVII.

([51]) Although I am aware of the growing body of literature on "stylometrics" — the use of computers in studies of literary style — I shall prescind from this issue in the present report, limiting myself here to the identification of doublets, which in the case under study are a surer test of authenticity than other statistical indices such as the common reliance on sentence-length and vocabulary. How does one compute sentence length in a

The recurrence of vocabulary is much more decisive. Certain authors betray themselves by using common words with uncommon frequency, or by employing rare expressions more than once. Some authors also cite certain scriptural passages with unaccustomed frequency. This strange frequency of usual terms, or unusual appearance of strange terms, is even more convincing if the contexts in which they emerge closely resemble one another — what are called "doublets," characteristic phrases repeated almost word for word in several demonstrably authentic texts as well as in the text(s) being scrutinized.

Such indices may not be forceful enough to restore to an author a work which the mss place under another's name, for writers of the same epoch and school share common traits, and borrowing and even plagiarism was common coin, especially among homilists and later Byzantine writers. Every time we stumble across an English text that refers to some principle of behavior as "more honoured in the breach than in the observance," we do not immediately conclude it was written by Shakespeare. The same caution is in order when dealing with ancient texts. But internal indices can offer convincing confirmation of an already existing, solid tradition of attribution, as in the case of CHR.

2. *Problems Peculiar to Liturgical Texts*:

In the case of liturgical texts, and especially anaphoras, the process of authentication is beset by problems peculiar to the genre. First of all, *liturgical texts are living texts*, subject to growth and change, and later changes can obscure the traces of the original author's hand.

Secondly, *liturgical texts are stereotypical.* Their composers were not free to follow untrammelled the vagaries of their personal thought patterns, vocabulary, and style, but were constrained by the nature of the genre to accepted patterns and an established vocabulary, replete with topoi. Though improvisation was widespread in

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literature whose punctuation comes not from the author (Greek mss are notorious for the capriciousness of their copyists' punctuation) but from later editors? And how can one rely on word-counts in so stereotypical a literature as liturgical texts?

early liturgy, "free prayers" quickly evolved toward a content, form, structure, and style that were bound by custom and tradition([52]). Even in the period of improvisation there existed an established liturgical language and a common stock of stereoptyped formulas — greetings, doxologies, forms of address, etc., such as those seen already in the New Testament and the *Didache.*

When similarity of words or phrases between liturgical texts may have been conditioned by such a common source, circumstance, purpose, or background, relationship or dependence between them cannot be presumed without further proof([53]). All liturgical texts bear the imprint of the Bible; all anaphoras recount the same story of salvation in Jesus, his institution of the eucharist at the Last Supper, his saving death and resurrection; all share the same Formelgut of common early liturgical formulas ("Peace to all;" "The Lord be with you;" "Lift up your hearts") and vocabulary([54]); all liturgical intercessions pray for the same basic needs (peace, forgiveness, mercy, a life free from sin, unity, salvation); all fourth-to-seventh century anaphoras are marked by the doctrinal crises that gave rise to the early councils. This principle can also be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to similarities between liturgical texts and patristic sources.

All these problems are magnified in the case of frequently used prayers like an anaphora, especially an anaphora like CHR, for sixteen centuries the most widely used eucharistic prayer after the Ro-

([52]) See S. MOWINCKEL, *Religion und Kultus* (Göttingen 1953) 8, 53. A. BOULEY, *From Freedom to Formula. The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts* (Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity 21, Washington D.C. 1981) *passim*, provides a thorough, excellent study of this entire question.

([53]) This principle is formulated by E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Das liturgische Formkriterium. Ein Prinzip in der Erforschung der orientalischen Liturgien, Studia patristica* 5 (TU 80, Berlin 1962) 50-68; cf. ID., *Die koptische Gregoriosanaphora* (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 8, Berlin 1957) 110 n. 97. H. ENGBERDING accepts this principle without qualification in his review of H. in OC 42 (1958) 136.

([54]) F. E. BRIGHTMAN, *The 'Anaphora of Theodore'*, JTS 3 (1930) 161, justly remarks: "The greater part of any fully developed liturgy is likely to be common form, and marks of individual authorship are only to be looked for in occasional features, whether of dogmatic statement or of characteristic or favourite phraseology...".

man Canon. Such long-lived, mainline compositions are by their very nature representative of standard, orthodox liturgical tradition, and hence far more liable to standardization and doctrinal updating than some offbeat, little-used text gathering dust in the sacristy closet. This means that *the most important liturgical texts may be the hardest to authenticate.*

Finally, even when internal indices have established a close relationship between a prayer and the authentic writings of an author, there remains the problem which source is prior. Already from the fourth century, the anaphora had developed an established convention of stereotypical structure, style, and vocabulary in each of its fixed components, all ordered in a preordained sequence within each of the three traditional eastern anaphoral families. One would expect both eucharistic anaphoras and the Fathers of the Church to draw their liturgical vocabulary from this Formelgut font, that common stock of traditional phrases, just as both would from Scripture, when speaking of things the eucharist is concerned with: praise and thanks for creation and salvation, sin and redemption, Last Supper and cross, etc. In the case of an anaphora certainly known to and used by the author whose presumed authorship is being tested, literary similarities are of no help in indicating the *direction of the influence.* For if a eucharistic text was used frequently by its presumed author, the similarities between the style and vocabulary of the prayer and his other writings could perfectly well have originated in his repeated use of the prayer rather than from his common authorship of both.

This is all the more reason why the methodological principles enunciated above be followed rigidly: all doublets attributable to another source, or common to several authors and anaphoras, and hence possibly Formelgut, must simply be discounted as indices of dependence.

3. *The Special Case of Chrysostom*:

But if the only effective way to prove or disprove the authenticity of a document is via a comparative study of the vocabulary, style, and content of the document with the same in the already authenticated works of the author in question, this task is nowhere so daunting as in the case of Chrysostom, for two reasons.

First of all, as Cuming has stressed([55]), in his preaching Chrysostom cites liturgical texts more frequently than any other patristic author except the ex professo liturgical commentators: van de Paverd's study of the liturgy in Chrysostom gives over 150 such passages([56]). This marked interest in and easy familiarity with the texts of the liturgy increases the probability that the liturgy influenced Chrysostom as much as he influenced it.

Secondly, Chrysostom was one of the most prolific and popular patristic authors, with the result that his name has attracted to it more spuria than are attributed to any other writer of Christian Antiquity. Michel Aubineau, unequalled connoisseur of patristic homiletical literature, has called working in the morass of texts attributed to Chrysostom an "exploration dans une terra incognita de la littérature patristique byzantine"([57]). Aubineau points out that in the fourteen volumes of Migne's PG 47-64 — some 10,000 columns of Greek text in small type — about 1500 writings are attributed to John Chrysostom, to say nothing of those edited elsewhere or those still unedited. In addition, de Aldama's *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum* cites 581 works whose authenticity is controverted, and which have been attributed, variously, to fifty-six different authors([58]). Add to this the thousands of Greek mss in various libraries that remain to be exploited — Aubineau himself has uncovered 6000 witnesses to works attributed to Chrysostom in 294 mss of eighteen different libraries in Dublin, Cambridge, London, and Oxford alone; and the obvious fact that until we have critical editions of all certainly authentic works, the process of authentication will be built partially on sand; and we can begin to see the scope of the problem confronting us.

([55]) G. J. Cuming, *Pseudonymity and Authenticity, with particular reference to the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, Studia patristica* 15.1 (TU 128, Berlin 1984) 535.

([56]) *Zur Geschichte der Meßliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts. Analyse der Quellen bei Johannes Chrysostomos* (OCA 187, Rome 1970).

([57]) *Actes de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France (9 novembre 1964 — 24 juin 1965), Revue des études grecques* 78 (1965) xxxi-xxxiii.

([58]) Aldama.

IV. Enter the computer

This not only makes the preparation of critical editions a herculean task and complicates the weeding out of spuria. It also provides a basis for comparison so huge as to be unmanageable until all authenticated Chrysostomica are critically edited, and then computerized exclusively on the basis of those critical editions. Only via computerization can one get a relatively complete picture of the relatedness of vocabulary, the author's theological and ascetical nomenclature, recurring thought patterns, parallel passages, hapax legomena, rare terms and their frequency, all served up by this programming([59]). In all this it is not one indication but the convergence of many that confirms — though cannot prove — attribution([60]).

For Chrysostom we do not yet have fully computerized the vast and still far from definitively sifted and critically edited corpus of his works. But a quantum leap forward was made by the recent appearance of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* data-base (hereafter TLG)([61]). This data-bank, on CD-ROM([62]) laser-disk programmed for use with the Ibycus SC computer system, already contains over 8,000 works by almost 3,000 Greek authors from classical antiquity and the patristic period, though the claim to include virtually all extant Greek-language texts from Homer until 600 AD is exaggerated for already edited works([63]), and of course does not take into account the innumerable unedited works attributed to Chrysostom.

([59]) Cf. Aubineau, *Hesychius* (note 50 above) I, xxx-xli.

([60]) *Ibid.* xxxv-vi.

([61]) The history and characteristics of the TLG are recounted in the Preface and Introduction to the program's accompanying volume listing the works in the data-bank: L. Berkowitz & K. A. Squitier, with technical assistance from W. A. Johnson, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, (2nd ed. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press 1986). See also the extremely useful information-updating in R. A. Kraft (ed.), *Offline: Computer assisted Research for Religious Research, Bulletin of the Council of the Society for the Study of Religion* 17.1 (Feb. 1988) 20-22; 17.2 (April 1988) 48-50; 17.3 (Sept. 1988) 68-73 (continuing).

([62]) I.e. compact-disk read-only memory, which can be read, scanned, printed, etc., but not changed or added to by the user.

([63]) For example, it does not include *ApConst*, a capital liturgical source, and other authors are only partially represented.

Still, though as yet an imperfect tool because of the peculiar problems of the Chrysostom corpus, the TLG, commercially available to the general public only since 1986, has already revolutionized my own research on CHR, strengthening greatly the assurance with which some conclusions can be asserted. I am convinced that further computer testing will only confirm, not contradict these conclusions.

Computerized scanning of the TLG data-bank adds to what we have known hitherto about the relationship of CHR and Chrysostom four new qualities: speed, completeness, accuracy, and (relative) exclusivity. Computer scanning is not only quick, doing in minutes work that would take more than a lifetime, and with no guarantee of inerrancy. It also finds, with total accuracy, all doublets without exception. But this only helps to confirm what Wagner has already demonstrated: that there are numerous parallels between the anaphora and the authentic writings of Chrysostom. Far more important is the novelty of exclusivity: the computer scan can show that in certain instances, not only are there doublets in Chrysostom's writings, *but that such doublets exist in no other writings in the data-bank.*

* * *

V. The text

With these cautions and caveats in mind, let us apply the methods discussed to a sample of the text of CHR and its perceived parallels in the anaphoral tradition and in the writings of John Chrysostom, with a view to adjudicating, if not definitively then at least with greater assurance than was hitherto possible, the long disputed question of its authenticity.

1. *The Apophatic Credo* (7):

The first text I wish to examine begins at number 7 of the Greek text in the left column. I skip over variants 3 and 5. Since the former is Formelgut, and the latter from Ps 102:22, neither can provide any grist for the authenticity mill. But 7 is another matter. It reads:

> For you are God, ineffable, inconceivable, invisible, incomprehensible, always existing, ever the same, you and your only-begotten Son and your Holy Spirit.

Here, the simple divine address in APSyr, "qui vere es deus," to which three mss add "pater" to form a customary Syriac formula(64), has been expanded considerably in the Greek text by a series of alpha-privative epithets and the phrase "always existing, ever the same (ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡσαύτως ὤν)," affirming God's eternity and unchangeableness: Σὺ γὰρ εἶ θεὸς ἀνέκφραστος ἀπερινόητος ἀόρατος ἀκατάληπτος, ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡσαύτως ὤν.

Of course other early anaphoras have apophatic epithets in the presanctus, especially in Egypt: e.g., the fourth-century Greek Anaphora of Sarapion of Thmuis(65), the Alexandrian Greek Anaphora of St. Gregory(66) and related Sahidic anaphoral fragments on Coptic ostraca edited by H. Quecke(67). But they are not exactly *these epithets, in this order.* Only such true doublets will serve our purposes in this testing, and I have found this apophatic confession in no anaphora but CHR.

It is precisely here, in these epithets peculiar to CHR and not found in APSyr, that we encounter our first close parallels between the liturgical text and the authentic writings of Chrysostom. The time is shortly after Chrysostom's ordination to the presbyterate in 386, at the beginning of his preaching career in Antioch, a metropolis where paganism still flourished, Judaism still exerted its pull on Christians, the Church itself was divided by the so-called Meletian schism, and heretics abounded(68). Chief among the latter were the

(64) Engberding, *Anaphora* 239.

(65) PE 128.

(66) A. Gerhards, *Die griechische Gregoriosanaphora. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des eucharistischen Hochgebets* (LQF 65, Münster 1984) 22.18-20.

(67) H. Quecke, *Das anaphorische Dankgebet auf den koptischen Ostraka B.M. Nr. 32 799 und 33 050 neu herausgegeben*, OCP 37 (1971) 393-94, Zeile 8; Id., *Das anaphorische Dankgebet auf dem koptischen Ostrakon Nr. 1133 der Leningrader Eremitage neu herausgegeben*, OCP 40 (1974) 52-54, Zeilen 12-13.

(68) "La discorde, nulle part plus qu'à Antioche, ne divisait les orthodoxes," remarks F. Cavallera of this period. F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche (IVe-Ve siècle)* (Paris 1905) 271. On the Church of Antioch in this

Anomeans, proponents of a strict form of late Arianism which first reared its head at Antioch around 355. Their name derives from their teaching that the Son was unlike (*anomoios*) the Father. Favored by emperor Constantius II (337-361), this neo-Arian heresy was to show remarkable resilience. Though condemned at the Synods of Ancyra (356) and Constantinople (360)(69), and attacked by such notables as Basil the Great (ca. 330-379) in the earliest of his dogmatic writings, the treatise *Against Eunomius* composed between 363-365(70); by Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa, in no less than four treatises, the first three, *Contra Eunomium libri*(71), answering Eunomius' rejoinder to Basil's refutation, written between ca. 380-383, and the fourth, *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*(72), not long thereafter; and by Theodore of Mopsuestia, in his lost treatise *Adversus Eunomium libri XXV*(73); and repressed by Emperor Gratian (375); in the decade of Chrysostom's Antiochene presbyteral ministry (386-397) it was being vigorously defended by its chief propagator Eunomius († 394), and Sozomen witnesses to how threatening the heresy was viewed in Antioch and elsewhere throughout this period(74).

For Chrysostom, the ineffability and incomprehensibility of God are doctrines of faith required of candidates for baptism, he explains in his Antiochene *Baptismal Catecheses* I, 20(75). But it is especially

period, see also G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton 1961) 410-49.

(69) Mansi 3:267-90, 325-36.

(70) Basile de Césarée, *Contre Eunome*, ed. B. Sesboué with G.-M. de Durand, L. Doutreleau (SC 299, 305, Paris 1982, 1983) = PG 29:497-669.

(71) W. Jaeger (ed.), *Gregorii Nysseni opera* I-II, 2nd ed. (Leiden 1960) I (libri 1-2); II, 3-311 (liber 3).

(72) *Ibid.* II, 312-410. Cf. Quasten III, 209-10, 257-58.

(73) We know of the work from Theodore himself, who refers to it at the very beginning of his *Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis apostoli*, ed. J.-M. Vosté (CSCO 115-116, scr. Syri 62-63 = ser. 4, t. 3, Louvain 1940) 3 (versio 1); as well as from Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 4, PG 103:52A. On these and other, now lost anti-Eunomian works, see Cavalcanti, *Studi eunomiani* xii-xiv.

(74) HE IV, 12-30, ed. J. Bidez, GCS 50 (Berlin 1960) 154-87 *passim.* On the whole question see Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche* (note 68 above); Cavalcanti, *Studi eunomiani* 1-22.

(75) Jean Chrysostome, *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédits*, ed. A. Wen-

in his five famous homilies *On the Incomprehensibility of God*(76), delivered in Antioch in 386-387, that Chrysostom enters the lists directly and vigorously against Eunomius' teaching(77).

The Anomeans at Antioch were numerous, active, and disruptive, and Chrysostom attacks them especially for their teaching on the knowability of God's essence. From the literature of this controversy originated an entire vocabulary of apophatic theology, including the four alpha-privatives of CHR: 1) ἀνέκφραστος, 2) ἀπερινόητος, 3) ἀόρατος, 4) ἀκατάληπτος.

Before Chrysostom and CHR, most of these expressions are found already in Gnostic writings, in Philo, in the New Testament, and in Clement of Alexandria, and they are common to the anti-Eunomian treatises of Basil the Great and his brother Gregory. So the epithets in question are not peculiar to Chrysostom. But he does use all four of them in the body (i.e. excluding the titles) of his five Antiochene homilies on the issue, as follows: (1) only once, (2) twice, (3) three times, and (4) his favorite, ἀκατάληπτος, "incomprehensible," twenty-seven times, plus five more times in the titles(78).

GER (SC 50bis, Paris 1970) 118-20; cf. WAGNER 78. Arius and Eunomius were also major heretics for Chrysostom's classmate Theodore of Mopsuestia, who mentions them frequently in his own catecheses: *Hom. 1*, 11; *3*, 12; *5*, 9; *13*, 8; ST 145:19, 71, 111, 381; cf. WAGNER 78 n. 20. The same was true of their teacher, Diodore of Tarsus, if we can believe the later testimony of Ebedjesu († 1318), whose catalogue lists a lost anti-Eunomian polemical treatise of the Antiochene master: EBEDJESU, *Carmen continens catalogum librorum omnium ecclesiasticorum*, BO II.1:28-29; cf. CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* xii.

(76) JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu*, t. 1 (Homélies 1-5), 2nd ed., ed. A.-M. MALINGREY, trans. R. FLACELIÈRE, intro. J. DANIÉLOU (SC 28bis, Paris 1970).

(77) Ca. 439-450 the Byzantine historian Socrates of Constantinople sums up this teaching in his HE IV, 7: "God knows no more about his own being than we do. His being is no more known to him than it is to us. Whatever we know of him, he knows fully too, and whatever he knows, you find in us too, without any difference. God is pure, incommunicable simplicity. Only the Father possesses this divinity. This Logos is created, not divine. God gives the Logos his energy, his activity, and uses him as an instrument in the production of other creatures, first among which is the Holy Spirit. Though man cannot of himself know God's essence, God himself has communicated this knowledge" (PG 67:437B).

(78) SC 28bis, index, 332-34.

For this is the term that provides both theme and name to the entire corpus — though whether the name and its titles are from Chrysostom is, of course, moot.

Once, however, in *Hom. 3*, 54-55, Chrysostom employs all four epithets in combination, and, strikingly, as Daniélou points out(79), on that occasion he not only uses all four, and only these four epithets; he does so *in exactly the same sequence as in CHR*: "Let us call upon him, then, the ineffable, the inconceivable God, the invisible, the incomprehensible..."(80).

Even more significant is the fact that *among all Greek writers in the TLG*, no one but Chrysostom uses all four epithets together, and no one but Chrysostom uses them in the exact order in which they are found in CHR. The relevant texts are:

1. From before 398, the just mentioned Antiochene sermon *De incomprehensibili Dei natura, hom. 3*, 54-55: Καλῶμεν τοίνυν αὐτὸν *τὸν ἀνέκφραστον, τὸν ἀπερινόητον θεὸν, τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν ἀκατάληπτον*...(81).
2. Some of the epithets are found not only in combination but in liturgical order in two other Antiochene homilies. *In Mt hom. 2*, 2, has epithets 1-2(82), which is worthy of note because the first, ἀνέκφραστος, is very rare. Chrysostom himself uses it but twice, only once in combination with all three other apophatic epithets. Theophilos of Antioch, *Ad Autolycum* I, 3 (ca. 160)(83), and Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica* V, 1:5(84), are the only other sources the TLG scan shows as using ἀνέκφραστος in conjunction with one of the other three epithets.
3. *In illud 'Pater si possibile'* 3, has 2-3-4: ... ἦν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν, ὅτι ὁ θεός, ὁ ἄρρητος, ὁ ἄφθαρτος, *ὁ ἀπερινόητος, ὁ ἀόρατος, ὁ ἀκατάληπτος*...(85).
4. While in exile from 404 until his death in 407, Chrysostom deals again with the same question in his treatise *On the Providence of God (Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt)*. In II, 18 he says: Ὁ δὲ πολυπραγμονούμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ, ἀνώλεθρος, ἀναλλοίωτο, *ἀεὶ ὢν καὶ*

(79) *Ibid.* 18-19.
(80) *Ibid.* 190.
(81) *Loc. cit.*
(82) PG 57:25D. Cf. WAGNER 76-77.
(83) THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH, *Ad Autolycum*, text and trans. by R. M. GRANT (Oxford 1970) 4; THEOPHILE D'ANTIOCHE, *Trois livres à Autolycus*, ed. G. BARDY, trans. J. SENDER (SC 20, Paris 1948) 62.
(84) Ed. I. A. HEIKEL, GCS 23 = EUSEBIUS 6 (Leipzig 1913) 151b.
(85) PG 51:37A. Cf. WAGNER 76-77.

ὠσαύτως ὤν, ἄναρχος, ἀτελεύτητος, *ἀπερινόητος*, ὑπερβαίνων νοῦν, νικῶν λογισμόν, *ἀνέκφραστος*, ἄρρητος, *ἀκατάληπτος* οὐκ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ μόνον . . .(86).

5. A doubtful text(87) from the period of Chrysostom's episcopate in Constantinople (398-404), *Hom. de capto Eutropio* 9, provides an even closer parallel. Although the authenticity of this section of the homily has been disputed, its language provides doublets not only with the liturgical passage from CHR, but with other expressions of Chrysostom already cited. The passage is referring to Christ in his Godhead: Ἀκήρατος ἦν, ἀνώλεθρος ἡ οὐσία, ἄφθαρτος, ἦν ἡ φύσις, *ἀπερινόητος*, *ἀόρατος*, *ἀκατάληπτος*, *ἀεὶ ὤν*, *ὠσαύτως ὤν*, ὑπερβαίνων ἀγγέλους, ἀνώτερος τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων, νικῶν λογισμόν, ὑπερβαίνων διάνοιαν. . .(88).

These texts permit us to conclude the following:

1. Chrysostom knew these four epithets in the liturgical order as given in CHR.
2. It is probable that he knew them as part of a prayer invoking (καλῶμεν) God.
3. Since the doublets in question are not found in APSyr, and hence were not in AP; and since computer scanning provides no secure basis for ascribing to Chrysostom the texts common to CHR-APSyr, i.e. that least common denominator we have attributed to the AP Urtext; the doublets do not show Chrysostom to be the author of AP.
4. Since whatever is almost certainly attributable to Chrysostom is an addition to AP, this narrows our question to whether Chrysostom, even if not the author of AP (and therefore of CHR) in the modern sense of the term (a problem I prescind from for the moment), could at least have been responsible for this later, Byzantine redaction that has come down to us as CHR.
5. Apart from the authenticity issue, what we have seen so far concerning the historical context of the apophatic confession provides a relatively secure context for locating this later elaboration of the Greek Urtext of AP to the period

(86) JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Sur la providence de Dieu*, ed. A.-M. MALINGREY (SC 79, Paris 1961) 70-72.
(87) CPG 4528; ALDAMA 170.
(88) PG 52:404A.

during or after the anti-Eunomean polemic, which raged from ca. 355.

6. That, in turn, would place the composition of the AP Urtext back to at least mid-century as an anaphora in use in the metropolis of Antioch.

Let us return now to the main question as narrowed by these conclusions: is John Chrysostom the author of the present redaction of Byzantine CHR? Chrysostom's writings so abound in apophatic epithets(89) that it is only on the basis of a strict correspondence of doublets, as in the case of this apophatic confession of CHR, that any real argument for a liturgical parallel can be developed. Does this parallel argue for Chrysostom himself as the redactor of the elaborated text of the CHR presanctus(90)? Though there is no way in which one can speak of "proof" in such matters, I would consider this conclusion the only probable one under the circumstances.

Note well that the argument is not based just on the doublets in Chrysostom-CHR, but on them plus *the complete absence of similar doublets in any other Greek Christian writer then, before, or after.* With the expression "God the ineffable, the inconceivable, the invisible, the incomprehensible, always existing, ever the same," we are, then, dealing with a "Chrysostomism" verified nowhere else.

This, in turn, permits us to align the evidence and argue as follows:

1. The text in question is *not* found in APSyr, and hence most probably was not in AP.
2. But it *is* found in the later Greek redaction of AP, which we know as CHR.
3. Further, it is an expression clearly derived from the anti-Eunomean polemic raging in Antioch from ca. 355.
4. In this polemic, John Chrysostom played a major role.
5. The text, in its liturgical form in CHR, is a Chrysostomian hapax found in no other writer.
6. It would seem, then, that either Chrysostom borrowed the expression from the liturgy, or the liturgy got it from him.

(89) See indices, SC 28bis: 314, SC 79:281-82.
(90) Cf. WAGNER 76.

Did Chrysostom himself personally redact this expanded recension of the liturgical text? And if so, when? Since it is difficult to imagine a young presbyter even of Chrysostom's obvious gifts meddling with the anaphora of a major see — indeed in that area and at that time the see which, before being overtaken by Constantinople and Jerusalem, was still the most important center of liturgical influence in the Prefecture of Oriens — one might prefer to think that the anaphora influenced the preacher, not vice-versa, and thus was a text well-known to Chrysostom from frequent use, and not a recent innovation. Our main proof text, *On the incomprehensibility of God, homily 3,* was, after all, preached at a eucharist in Antioch([91]), and it would be quite natural that at its conclusion, where the text in question appears, the homilist exhort his hearers to pray God in the words of the imminent anaphora — *if those words were, in fact, part of the anaphora at that time.*

This is the sticking point, and there is no sure way to resolve it. But it seems to me fairer to the true weight of the objective evidence to attribute the apophatic epithets to Chrysostom, but to conclude that they were added to the Antiochene Anaphora of the Apostles by him, or at his direction, only after being ordained bishop of Constantinople on February 26, 398. The reasons for this are twofold:

1. If my argumentation thus far is suasive, we find the apophatic confession in Chrysostom's homilies in Antioch *before they appear in the liturgy*, or at least before Chrysostom would have borrowed them from the liturgy after going to Constantinople. For the absence of the expression in APSyr, I have argued, means it was not part of the Urtext of AP as it would have been known to Chrysostom during his Antiochene period.
2. So it appears reasonable to assume that the liturgy got the apophatic confession from Chrysostom, not vice-versa.

According to this proposed scenario, the Antiochene writings of Chrysostom would be evidence that during the period of his Antiochene ministry, St. John knew and used the four apophatic epithets in a certain order. Later, while at Constantinople in 398-404, he

([91]) SC 28bis: 58.

interpolated them into the text of AP, an anaphora he had known in Antioch and probably introduced into the rite of the Great Church as its bishop. This would remove the objection voiced above to his emending the liturgy of Antioch while a mere presbyter there.

One might object to delaying the interpolation of the apophatic confession until Chrysostom's Constantinopolitan episcopate with the argument that the Anomean problem was chiefly an *Antiochene* one in Chrysostom's career. By the time Chrysostom had arrived in Constantinople, had not Arianism and its progeny been largely laid to rest in the capital by Gregory Nazianzen, bishop there briefly (November 380-June 381), whose vigorous and effective measures against these aberrations were crowned by the Council of Constantinople I in 381? Hardly. Though the council of 381 condemned every variety of Arianism and semi-Arianism of the Eunomians, the Anomeans, and anyone else, and an imperial decree of July 19, 381, forbade them to build churches in the cities or elsewhere under threat of confiscation([92]), Eunomius and his doctrine, in one form or another, remained a danger until after the death of Chrysostom. Eudoxius, briefly Arian bishop of Antioch (358-September 30, 359), ordained Eunomius deacon and promoted him to the see of Cyzicus (360-383), now Balzik-kale, in the Hellespont, then still a suffragan see of Ephesus, when he became Arian bishop of Constantinople (January 27, 360-370)([93]). Eunomius, who did not stay long in his see, eventually took up residence with Eudoxius in the capital before retiring to his estate just across the Bosphorus in Chalcedon. He attended a synod in Constantinople in 383, was exiled shortly thereafter by Emperor Theodosius, and lived in Halmyris in Moesia, Caesarea in Cappadocia, and nearby Dacora, until his death in 394. Nor did his death end the peril: four years after, in 398, several imperial edicts under Emperor Arcadius ordered Eunomius' works burnt and made possession of them a capital offense([94]). The last official decree dealing with the question is an edict of Theodosius II,

([92]) CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* 19.

([93]) For the dating of these often brief and conflicting episcopates during the Arian and later Christological struggles, see G. FEDALTO, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis. Series episcoporum ecclesiarum orientalium.* 2 vols. I: *Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus*; II: *Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus* (Padua 1988).

([94]) QUASTEN III, 307.

May 30, 428([95]). But if this is the last official trace of Eunomianism in imperial or ecclesiastical sources, Eunomian communities continued to exist through the middle of the fifth century at least, and anti-Eunomian polemical writings are witnessed through the end of the following century([96]).

It should come as no surprise, then, that Chrysostom delivered his final two homilies against the Anomeans at Constantinople in 398([97]), and continued to maintain his firm stand against Anomeanism right until the end of his life — as we saw he did, and without ambiguity, in one of his last writings from exile, the treatise *On the Providence of God* cited above([98]).

Hence I will let my hypothesis stand, for the moment, even if in all this we must remain in the misty realm of possibilities and probabilities. For, let me repeat, if the doublets adduced thus far cannot be dismissed as negligible, we are, nevertheless, hypothesizing on the basis of evidence which, of itself, proves nothing with certainty. Still, degrees of probability do increase as the confluence of evidence mounts, and the argument based on it convinces. And there is more evidence to come.

As to the further question, whether Chrysostom might not also have been the author of not just this and other redactional emendations to AP, but of the entire CHR anaphora, perhaps in two phases, Antiochene (AP) and Constantinopolitan (CHR), analogous to what Raes proposed for BAS([99]), I shall leave this issue until later.

2. *"Always existing, ever the same"* (8):

The concluding phrase (8) of this apophatic credo in CHR, ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡσαύτως ὤν, if taken *verbatim*, is a hapax found thus nowhere

([95]) *Codex Theodosii* XVI, 5:65, ed. TH. MOMMSEN, P. M. MEYER, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes* I. 2 (Berlin 1905) 878-79; cf. CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* 20.

([96]) CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* 21.

([97]) *Hom. 11-12*, PG 48:795-812 = CPG 4324-4325. On the venue, cf. PG 48:795; O. BARDENHEWER *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (2nd ed. Freiburg B. 1913-1932) III, 340.

([98]) Text no. 4 above at note 86.

([99]) A. RAES, *L'authenticité de la Liturgie byzantine de Saint Basile*, REB 16 (1958) 158-61.

but in CHR and Chrysostom. And *Chrysostom not only has it twice, but both times he uses it in conjunction with our alpha-privative epithets.*

Everything that has been said above concerning the apophatic epithets applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the expression "always existing, ever the same." It, too, comes out of the Anomean controversy; it, too, is a favorite of Chrysostom.

In this regard, the text cited above from *De capto Eutropio* 9([100]) is especially interesting in that it applies the epithets and their following phrase, "always existing, ever the same," to Christ. In CHR they are predicated of all three persons of the Holy Trinity. Similar passages in the presanctus of *ApConst* VIII, 12:6 ("always and in all you remain the same": τὸν πάντοτε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα)([101]) and in Eunomius, *Apol.* 28 (Εἷς δὲ ὢν καὶ μόνος ὢν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὤν, πάντων ἐστι θεὸς καὶ κτίστης καὶ δημιουργός . . .)([102]) are predicated of the Father only, as Wagner has pointed out([103]).

The anaphoral reading in CHR must also, then, be a deliberate anti-Eunomean emendation, and the evidence points, again, to Chrysostom as the most likely source of this interpolation. Several arguments support this conclusion:

1. Apart from Chrysostom, not one Greek writer in the TLG data-bank, pagan or Christian, ever uses the exact phrase ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡσαύτως ὤν.
2. Chrysostom uses it *not once but three times*, and paraphrases it closely a fourth([104]).
3. The expression "always existing" (ἀει ὤν) by itself is also a favorite of his, used several times in various contexts, in-

([100]) Text no. 5 above at note 88.

([101]) SC 336:180.

([102]) PG 30:868A.

([103]) WAGNER 82-83.

([104]) Two of the relevant texts have been cited above in the previous section: texts nos. 4-5 above at notes 86, 88. The third is Chrysostom's *Comm. in Is 6*, 2, a work that dates from his Antiochene period, before 386: "Σύ, φησί, μένων, ὤν, ζῶν, ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ὤν," JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Commentaire sur Isaïe*, ed J. DUMORTIER (SC 304, Paris 1983) 262; for the date of this work, cf. *ibid.* 14. The paraphrase is *Expos. in ps 7*, 6: ". . . ἀεὶ ὢν ὕψιστος . . . καὶ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχων," PG 55:90.

cluding the ones in combination with "ever the same" (ὡσαύτως ὤν) just referred to(105).

4. Finally, no one but Chrysostom ever uses the phrase, "always existing, ever the same," in combination with the alpha-privative epithets — and he does so twice, though not with all four epithets together and not always in liturgical order, but once with 2-1-4 (text no. 4 above), once (probably — text no. 5 is of dubious authenticity) with 2-3-4.

The sources adduced, especially those from the period of Chrysostom's Constantinopolitan episcopate and exile, strengthen the hypothesis already enunciated at the conclusion of the previous section.

* * *

The Motives for the Eucharist

The patently anti-Arian trinitarian confessions (**9, 15**) are anaphoral Formelgut, characteristic of the Antiochene and East-Syrian type presanctus in the post-Nicene period(106), and must be discounted as evidence of authenticity.

There follows a passage recounting the motives of our thanksgiving (**10-15**):

> **10.** From non-existence you brought us into being, **11.** and when we had fallen you raised us up again, **12.** and did not shrink from doing everything until you had led us up to heaven **13.** and graciously bestowed upon us the future kingdom. **14.** For all this do we thank

(105) Cf. TLG or PG 47:427; 53:346; 55:90, 646; 56:390; 59:97 (συνὼν ἀεὶ τῷ Πατρί), 99, 518; 62:108; 63:823.

(106) See THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, *Hom. 16*, 5-7, ST 145:541-45, 549; the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari, MACOMBER, *The Oldest Known Text* (note 8 above) 360-61; MOP, PE 381-82; numerous other Syriac and Armenian Antiochene-type anaphoras, e.g. PE 277, 282, 286, 288-89, 293, 298-99, 303-6, 311, 337, 342-43; including the older ones like *Testamentum Domini* I, 23, ed. I. E. RAHMANI, *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Mainz 1899) 38-41 = PE 220; and Greek and Syriac JAS, PO 26.2:200.8-11 = PE 246, 270.

> **15.** you and your only-begotten Son and your Holy Spirit, for all the things we know and do not know, your benefits seen and unseen, accomplished for us. We thank you also for this service: deign to receive it from our hands...

Let us examine these motives one by one.

3. *Thanksgiving for Creation "ex nihilo"* (10):

> "From non-existence you brought us into being." Σὺ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς παρήγαγες.

Just as Jewish liturgical prayer blessed God above all for creation and salvation(107), so too, thanksgiving for creation and redemption in Christ is the prime motive of the earliest Christian eucharist(108).

The explicitation of this theme by stressing creation *ex nihilo*, common to APSyr-CHR (and thus to AP), MOP and NES(109), is especially frequent in the Antiochene anaphoras: it is not found in BAS, JAS, MK, or Sarapion(110), though a recent reconstitution of the text of two Greek anaphoral fragments reveals the same tradition in Egypt:

1. The papyrus *Barcelona 154b-157*(111) from the first half of the fourth century, with an ancient Alexandrian Greek anaphoral fragment which Janeras dates to the third century, making it the oldest extant Greek anaphoral text discovered thus far(112). R. Roca-Puig,

(107) See PE 5-57 *passim*.

(108) See *Didache* 9-10, PE 67-68; JUSTIN MARTYR, *Dialogue with Trypho* 41.1 (ca. AD 165), PE 72; cf. *ibid.* 117.2, PE 72-74; etc. On the general theme of creation in the anaphora, see J. KEENAN, *The Importance of the Creation Motif in a Eucharistic Prayer*, *Worship* 53 (1979) 341-56.

(109) PE 383, 388.

(110) WAGNER 85.

(111) Description in R. ROCA-PUIG, *Sui papiri di Barcellona. Anafora greca secondo la liturgia di san Marco*, *Aegyptus* 46 (1966) 91-92 (this identification of the text as MK must be discounted: cf. JANERAS *passim*).

(112) JANERAS 14-15; JANERAS has demonstrated that this anaphora represents the original Greek text of the Louvain Coptic anaphoral fragment no. 27, edited by L. TH. LEFORT, *Coptica Lovaniensia*, Mu 53 (1940) 22-24; cf. P. DEVOS, AB 104 (1986) 126. See JANERAS' references for full bibliography on the Barcelona Anaphora.

who has been editing the anaphoral text in dribs and drabs, has baptized it the "Anaphora of Barcelona."(113) The presanctus of this text contains the passage "... ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι..."(114).

2. The fifth-sixth century Egyptian parchment fragment *P. 17032* now in the Ägyptischer Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (DDR), segment 2 as reconstructed by Gamber: ὃ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι(115).
3. The mid-seventh century Bodleian Papyrus, one of several found in the ruins of the Apa Apollon Monastery south of Lycopolis (Asyût) in Upper Egypt, and usually (if misleadingly(116)) called the Euchologion of Dêr Balizeh, as newly reconstituted by J. van Haelst. The text in question is from the beginning of the anaphora: ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα παραγαγῶν(117).

This is enough to show that we are dealing here with Formelgut material, an early Antiochene instance of which is found in the presanctus of *ApConst* VIII, 12:7: Σὺ γάρ... ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σου(118),

(113) R. ROCA-PUIG, *La "Creació" a l'Anàfora de Barcelona. Papir de Barcelona, Inv. n.º 154 b* (Barcelona 1979); ID., *La "Redempció" a l'Anàfora de Barcelona. Papir de Barcelona, Inv. n.º 154 b* (Barcelona 1982); ID., *La "Litúrgia angèlica" a l'Anàfora de Barcelona. Papir de Barcelona, Inv. n.º 154 b* (Barcelona 1983); see also ID., *L'epíclesi primera a l'Anàfora de Barcelona. Papir de Barcelona, Inv. n.º 155 a, lin. 2-7* (Barcelona 1987). JANERAS 16-18 gives the full text.

(114) ROCA-PUIG, *Creació* 15; JANERAS 16.

(115) First published in diplomatic edition by K. TREU, *Neue Berliner liturgische Papyri, Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 21 (1971) 72-74, fragment no. 8; this text remained largely ignored by oriental liturgiologists until the reconstitution of the text by K. GAMBER, *Teilstück einer Anaphora auf einem Pergamentblatt des 5./6. Jahrhunderts aus Ägypten*, OKS 36 (1987) 186-92. G. (188) admits, however, that the poor condition of the fragment makes hypothetical his reconstruction of this segment, and one must bear in mind that G. has been reproached for excessive fantasy in his reconstitution of fragmentary papyrus texts (e.g. VAN HAELST 455 note 13).

(116) Misleadingly because it is but one of a collection of texts: on this point see H. BRAKMANN, *Der Berliner Papyrus 13918 und das griechische Euchologion-Fragment von Deir el-Bala'izah*, OKS 36 (1987) 31-32.

(117) VAN HAELST 447; cf. 450-51 on van Haelst's placement of this segment in the anaphora.

(118) SC 336:180.

though here, following what was undoubtedly the pre-Eunomian Antiochene tradition, it is predicated only of the Father(119).

Thus CHR, APSyr, and MOP (in the postsanctus), by repeatedly extending the praise and thanks and, thereby, at least implicitly, the other divine attributes and magnalia to the whole Trinity, are simply modifying the existing Antiochene tradition in an anti-Anomean sense.

As an Antiochene commonplace, the creation *ex nihilo* theme is also, not surprisingly, a favorite of Chrysostom, echoed in his Antiochene writings, especially, with astonishing frequency(120). Indeed, Chrysostom uses not only the very anaphoral phraseology repeatedly, either verbatim or in slightly variant paraphrase(121). He also puts it in a context of thanksgiving for God's benefits, exactly as in CHR-APSyr:

1. *Expos. in ps 149*, 1: Εὐχαρίστει τῷ θεῷ, *ὅτι οὐκ ὄντα σὲ παρήγαγε...*(122).
2. *In Gen hom. 27*, 1: ... εὐχαριστίαν ἀναφέρειν ... καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπιλανθανώμεθα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ *εὐεργεσιῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων... ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρήγαγεν...*(123).

(119) On the doctrine of *ApConst* see METZGER in SC 329, esp. 16, 32. G. WAGNER, on the other hand, would see *ApConst* as Anomean: *Zur Herkunft der Apostolischen Konstitutionen*, in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B.* (Louvain 1972) 511-37; ID., *Une liturgie anoméenne*, in A. M. TRIACCA, A. PISTOIA (eds.), *Trinité et liturgie* (Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia 32, Rome 1984) 385-93.

(120) *Expos. in ps 8*, 1; *in ps 113*, 3; *in ps 138*, 2; *in ps 148*, 2; PG 55: 107, 308, 413, 487; *In Heb hom. 2*, 3; *hom. 4*, 3; *hom. 22*, 1; PG 63:23, 41, 154-55; *Ad Olymp. ep. 7 (1)*, 3a, JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Lettres à Olympias*, 2nd ed., ed. A.-M. MALINGREY (SC 13bis, Paris 1968) 142; cf. WAGNER 85-86.

(121) See the Antiochene writings: *In Gen hom. 2*, 2 and 4; *hom. 3*, 3; *hom. 10*, 6-7; *hom. 22*, 5; *hom. 40*, 2; PG 53:28, 31, 35, 87-89, 192, 370; *hom. 44*, 2, PG 54:408; *Ad Theod. lapsum* I, 51, JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *A Théodore*, ed. J. DUMORTIER (SC 117, Paris 1966) 102-4; *In Mt hom. 23/24*, 8, PG 57:318; *In Jn hom. 13/14*, 2; *hom. 55/56*, 1; PG 59:94, 307; *In 1 Cor hom. 20*, 3, PG 61:163; *In Eph hom. 4*, 3, PG 62:34; *In Col hom. 3*, 2, PG 62:319; *In 1 Thess hom. 6*, 3; *hom. 7*, 2; PG 62:432, 436; *In Philem hom. 2*, 4, PG 62:713; *De compunctione* II, 5, PG 47:418; *Cat. 8*, 19, SC 50bis, 258; *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt* II, 9, JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Sur la providence de Dieu*, ed. A.-M. MALINGREY (SC 79, Paris 1961) 64.

(122) PG 55:493.

(123) PG 53:240.

3. *Expos. in ps 144*, 1, combines this and the following theme of CHR: Καὶ γὰρ πολλῶν ἐσμεν ὀφειλέται αὐτῷ, *ὅτι τε οὐκ ὄντας ἐποίησεν*... καὶ ὅτι καθ' ἑκάστην προνοεῖ τῆν ἡμέραν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ, καὶ λάθρᾳ καὶ *φανερῶς, καὶ εἰδότων καὶ οὐκ εἰδότων*(124).

Impressive as this array of doublets is, they are not unique to Chrysostom among the Antiochenes. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Comm. in Mal* 1:6, also has the exact phrase: ἅτε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγών(125). His *Comm. in Zach* 1:7-10 echoes it strongly too: κτίσιν δὲ πάντα συντόμως εἰπεῖν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρεληλυθότα(126). Indeed, creation *ex nihilo* is a frequently repeated theme in Theodore — it is found eleven times, for example, in his *Hom. 2*, 9-18 alone(127), and can safely be relegated to Antiochene liturgical Formelgut.

4. *Thanksgiving for Redemption* (**11-13**):

The theme of thanksgiving for redemption is also found in APSyr-CHR, and thus part of the common Urtext:

11. καὶ παραπεσόντας ἀνέστησας πάλιν **12.** καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστης πάντα ποιῶν ἕως ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγες **13.** καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐχαρίσω τὴν μέλλουσαν.	**11.** And when we had fallen you raised us up again, **12.** and did not shrink from doing everything until you had led us up to heaven **13.** and graciously bestowed upon us the future kingdom.

From the purely stylistic point of view, the TLG scan has turned up numerous doublets for this text in the authentic works of Chrysostom:

1. παραπεσόντας πάλιν — ἀνέστησας πάλιν, especially the latter, are expressions dear to Chrysostom, though not necessarily in tandem. The phrase is from Heb 6:4, and in that form — καὶ παραπεσόντας, πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν — it occurs three times, once in *Ad illuminandos catechesis 1*, 2(128), twice in *In Heb hom. 9*, 2(129). *In Heb hom. 10*, 1, paraphrases the expression thus: τοῦ λουτροῦ ἄφεσιν πάλιν λαβεῖν...(130).
2. Πάλιν with some form of ἀνίστημι emerges so often in the TLG scanning of Chrysostom's works as to appear one of his clichés. I note here only a few of the more closely parallel expressions:

   [a] *Ad Theodorum lapsum* 8, 29: ... εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν *καταπεσόντας, πάλιν ἀνίστησιν*(131).

   [b] *De poenitentia hom. 4*, 1: καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι πολλοί... *πεσόντες ἀνέστησαν* καὶ εἰς τὴν προτέραν *πάλιν* ἐπανῆλθον εὐδοκίμησιν(132).
3. οὐκ [πρότερον] ἀπέστη... ἕως is another favorite expression of Chrysostom(133), often found in the form, "... did not shrink from *doing everything*," as in CHR: οὐ[κ] ἀπέστη πάντα ποιῶν ἕως...(134). At times it occurs in combination with ἀνάγειν or some synonym, in passages remarkably similar to the CHR text. This is not surprising, since the anaphoral passage is an obvious echo of Eph 2:4-7. Now this pericope is a favorite of Chrysostom, one he refers to explicitly in contexts citing almost verbatim the liturgical text of CHR:

   [a] *In Gen sermo 2*, 1: *οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστη πάντα ποιῶν* καὶ πραγματευόμενος *ἕως αὐτὸν* [= *ἄνθρωπον*] *ἀναγαγὼν ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ.* Καὶ βοᾷ Παῦλος λέγων· "Συνήγειρε καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἡμᾶς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ..."(135).

   [b] *In ascensionem domini*, 2: ... πῶς *οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη πάντα ποιῶν* καὶ πάσχων καὶ πραγματευόμενος, *ἕως τὸν πολέμιον καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἀνήγαγεν αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ*...(136).

(124) PG 55:465.
(125) PG 66:601B = CPG 3834; cf. F. E. BRIGHTMAN, *The 'Anaphora of Theodore'*, JTS 31 (1930) 162.
(126) PG 66:504A = CPG 3834.
(127) ST 145:41-53.

(128) PG 49:225.
(129) PG 63:78.
(130) PG 63:83.
(131) SC 117:116.
(132) PG 49:299.
(133) *In s. Eustathium antiochenum*, PG 50:605; *De Anna sermo 2*, 1, PG 54:644; *In Rom hom. 29*, 5, PG 60:659; *In 1 Cor hom. 19*, 5, PG 61:158.
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(136) PG 50:445.

[c] *Daemones non gubernare mundum hom. 1*, 2: . . . πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγε . . .([137]).

[d] Especially close to the liturgical text is *Adversus Judaeos or. 8*, 2: *καὶ οὐ* πρότερον *ἀπέστη πάντα ποιῶν* καὶ πραγματευόμενος, *ἕως* τὴν φύσιν τὴν *πεσοῦσαν ἀνέστησε*, καὶ ἀπήλλαξε τοῦ θανάτου, *καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐχειραγώγησε*, καὶ μείζονα τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἔδωκεν ἀγαθά. . .([138]).

[e] See also the Constantinopolitan *Homilia dicta presente imperatore*, 1: μὴ πρότερον ἀφίστασθαι πάντα ποιοῦντα καὶ πραγματευόμενον, ἕως ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πολλῷ μείζονα ὧν ἐξεπέσαμεν ἐπαναγάγῃ. . .([139]).

As Wagner remarks, ἀνάγειν is a favorite word in Chrysostom's vocabulary, in reference to humankind's "elevation" in Christ([140]).

4. Chrysostom uses the expression "heavenly kingdom" (βασιλεία [τῶν] οὐρανῶν)([141]), never "future kingdom" (βασιλεία ἡ μέλλουσα), very rare in Greek writers: the TLG scan gives it but four times, once in Eusebius, *Scholia in Lucam* 19:12([142]), once in a dubious work of Basil([143]), and twice in Chrysostomian *spuria*([144]).
5. Finally, Chrysostom frequently uses βασιλείαν([145]) or synonyms for eternal life (ζωὴν αἰωνίον, ἀθανασίαν, μέλλουσαν ζωήν, τὴν τῆς

([137]) PG 49:247.

([138]) PG 48:929.

([139]) PG 63:474B.

([140]) See texts nos. 3a, 3c, cited above at notes 135, 137; also *In Eph hom. 3*, 2, PG 62:25-26, where he uses it four times in this context. Cf. WAGNER 89.

([141]) *De gloria in tribulationibus* 2, PG 51:157; *In illud 'Habentes eundem spiritum' hom. 1*, 4; *hom. 3*, 10, PG 51:276, 290; *In Gen hom. 47*, 5; *hom. 52*, 1, PG 54:427, 457; *In Eph hom. 16*, 1, PG 62:111; *In Col hom. 3*, 2, PG 62:407; *In illud 'Apparuit gratia Dei omnibus hominibus'* 12, ed. A. WENGER, *Une homélie inédite de Jean Chrysostome sur l'épiphanie*, REB 29 (1971) 129.

([142]) PG 24:589A.

([143]) *Enarratio in Is* VII, 205, SAN BASILIO, *Commento al profeta Isaia*, 2 vols., ed. P. TREVISAN (Corona patrum salesiana, serie greca 4-5, Turin 1939) II, 219 = PG 30:469B (CPG 2911).

([144]) *De patientia sermo 2*, PG 60:733 = CPG 4621; ALDAMA 292; *In sanctam Theophaniam*, PG 50:806 = CPG 4522; ALDAMA 162.

([145]) *De statuis hom. 7*, 2, PG 49:93; *In Gen hom. 42*, 1, PG 54:457; *De Dauide et Saule hom. 1*, 2; *hom. 3*, 8, PG 54:679, 707; *Expos. in ps 148*, 5, PG 55:491; *In 1 Thess hom. 3*, 1, PG 62:407; cf. *Ecloga hom. 17*, PG 63:680 = CPG 4684.

βασιλείας κοινωνίαν([146])) as the object of χαρίζομαι, a usage that the TLG scan turns up elsewhere only in Philo([147]) and Ps.-Athanasius([148]).

5. *General Thanksgiving for All Benefits* (**14**):

The eucharistia in APSyr, and originally in UrAP, concluded with a general thanksgiving for all benefits, repeating the trinitarian confession: "For all these [things] do we thank you and your only-begotten Son and your Holy Spirit" (ὑπὲρ τούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ σου υἱῷ καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ), a conclusion which goes back to Jewish table-prayer, the *Birkat ha-mazon*: "Et propter (haec) omnia, (Domine, Deus noster), gratias agimus tibi et benedicimus te (nomen tuum)"([149]). As Lietzmann pointed out([150]), a similar formula concludes the presanctus of *ApConst* VIII, 12:27, just before the transition to the Sanctus, as in CHR: Ὑπὲρ πάντων σοι ἡ δόξα, Δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ([151]). Today, numerous scholars are inclined to consider this summary thanksgiving the original conclusion to the Antiochene-type anaphora, before the interpolation of the Sanctus and what Ligier calls the institution-anamnesis block. But to address that question here would carry us too far afield.

Chrysostom uses the formula ὑπὲρ [δὲ/δὴ] τούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαρι/στῶμεν/στήσωμεν/στήσαντες/στοῦντες often, though by no means exclusively, in the concluding formulas of his homilies, with such frequency as to make it almost one of his clichés([152]).

([146]) Respectively, *In s. Iulianum martyrem* 1, PG 50:667; *In Gen hom. 46*, 3-4, PG 54:427; *De Dauide et Saule hom. 3*, 7, PG 54:704; cf. *In Mt hom. 11*, 6, PG 57:199.

([147]) *Legatio ad Caium* 326, ed. A. PELLETIER (Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 32, Paris 1972) 290.

([148]) *Homilia de Passione et cruce domini*, 31, PG 28:240A = CPG 2247: σὺ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῖν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐχαρίσω.

([149]) PE 11, 27, cf. 53; WAGNER 91.

([150]) LIETZMANN, *Mass and Lord's Supper* (note 19 above) 112.

([151]) SC 336:192.

([152]) PG 48:982; 49:126, 211, 220; 49:126, 211, 220; 50:534, 706; 52:414 (dubious = CPG 4528), 448, 460 (dubious = CPG 4529); 53:80; 54:593, 598; 55:203, 216, 512, 575; 56:135, 175; 57:331; 60:654; 61:199; 62:75, 92; *In illud 'Apparuit gratia dei omnibus hominibus'* 11, ed. WENGER,

Such a stereotypical formula may prove nothing as to authenticity, for it is not of Chrysostom's invention, but belongs to the Urtext of CHR. On the other hand, Chrysostom's consistent employment of it to conclude his homilies should not go unnoticed.

6. *The Thanksgiving for Benefits Known and Unknown, Visible and Invisible* **(16-18)**:

In the Greek text of CHR, this original conclusion of AP is extended by a further thanksgiving for hidden benefits: "For all the things we know and do not know, your benefits seen and unseen, accomplished for us" (ὑπὲρ πάντων ὧν ἴσμεν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν, τῶν φανερῶν καὶ ἀφανῶν εὐεργεσιῶν σου τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων). Though Engberding dismisses these additions as Formelgut(153), this text is interesting for several reasons. First of all, as Ligier has pointed out, in liturgical language "things known and unknown, manifest and hidden", are usually *sins*, not divine gifts, at least in Jewish and Syriac prayers(154), so the absence of this text in APSyr is not surprising. And since its presence in NES(155) is clearly dependent on CHR and can be discounted, it is another CHR hapax.

Now the TLG data-base scan shows that Chrysostom not only uses the vocabulary, and even the antitheses ἴσμεν, οὐκ ἴσμεν / φανερῶν, ἀφανῶν, especially the latter. He is also *the only Greek writer in the TLG data-bank to use the expression "benefits known and unknown" and each time he does so in the genitive plural (φανερῶν/ἀφανῶν εὐεργεσιῶν) exactly as in CHR.*

Une homélie (note 141 above) 127; *In illud 'Vidi dominum' hom. 5*, 3:120-125, JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Homélies sur Ozias*, ed J. DUMORTIER (SC 277, Paris 1981) 200.

(153) ENGBERDING, *Anaphora* 239.

(154) L. LIGIER, *Pénitence et eucharistie en Orient. Théologie sur une interférence de prières et de rites*, OCP 29 (1963) 21-24, 51-53. Ligier cites Greek JAS, PO 26.2:222.2-3; and the Syriac anaphoras of Cyril, AS I.3:357; SyrJAS and Gregory John, AS II.2:168-69, 227; Clement of Rome, Gregory Abul Farag, and John the Scribe, E. RENAUDOT, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio* (2nd ed. Frankfurt/London 1847) II, 196, 464, 482.

(155) PE 388.

In addition to a resonance in the already cited *Expos. in ps 144, 1*(156), four passages in particular recall this anaphoral text:

1. Reminiscent of the idea if not the vocabulary is *In Gen hom. 26*, 5: Καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐεργετούμεθα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων εὐχαριστῶμεν(157).
2. *Ad Stagirium a daemone vexatum liber 1*, 5: Μὴ τοίνυν ὑπὲρ τούτων μόνον ὧν ἴσμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν εὐχαριστῶμεν αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἑκόντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκοντας οἶδεν εὖ ποιεῖν(158).
3. *In Eph hom. 19*, 2: Μὴ τοίνυν ὑπὲρ τῶν φανερῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄκοντες εὐεργετούμεθα, εὐχαριστῶμεν. . .(159).
   Wagner has shown that this theme of the hidden benefits received from God's bounty is another favorite of Chrysostom, who often employs 1 Cor 2:9, citing Is 64:5 and 65:17, to the effect that "No eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor heart of man conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him." Wagner has amassed an impressive dossier of texts, largely from Chrysostom's Antiochene period, where the preacher recalls benefits known and unknown, seen and unseen(160).
4. The most extensive passage, and closest to the liturgical text of CHR, is the famous "prayer of a certain man" from Chrysostom's Constantinopolitan sermon *In Col hom. 10*, 2-3(161):

   Τοῦτο γάρ, φησίν, ἔργον ὑμῶν ἔστω, ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς *εὐχαριστεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν φανερῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν*, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄκοντας ἐποίησεν ἓυ, καὶ ὑπὲρ βασιλείας καὶ ὑπὲρ γεέννης, καὶ ὑπὲρ θλίψεως καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνέσεως. Οὕτω γὰρ ἔθος τοῖς ἁγίοις εὔχεσθαι καὶ *ὑπὲρ τῶν* κοινῶν *εὐεργεσιῶν εὐχαριστεῖν*. Οἶδα ἐγώ τινα ἅγιον ἄνδρα οὕτως εὐχόμενον. Οὐδὲν πρὸ τούτου τοῦ ῥημάτου ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι· "*Εὐχαριστοῦμεν ὑπὲρ πασῶν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν* σου τῶν ἐκ πρώτης ἡμέρας μέχρι τῆς παρούσης εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀναξίους ἐπιδεικνυμένων· *ὑπὲρ ὧν ἴσμεν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν, ὑπὲρ τῶν φανερῶν, ὑπὲρ τῶν*

(156) Text no. 3 above at note 124.

(157) PG 53:238.

(158) PG 47:437.

(159) PG 62:130.

(160) WAGNER 92-95 cites: *Ad Stagirium 1*, 5, PG 47:437; *In Gen hom. 26*, 5; *hom. 27*, 1, PG 53:238, 240; *In Gen hom. 52*, 3, PG 54:460; *Expos. in ps 41*, 5; *in ps 144*, 1, PG 55:162, 465; *In Mt hom. 25*, 4, PG 57:332; *In Eph hom. 19, 2; In Phil hom. 14*, 1; *In 1 Tim hom. 6*, 1, PG 62:130, 283-84, 531.

(161) PG 62:368-69. On this text see S. ANTONIADIS, *Place de la liturgie dans la tradition des lettres grecques* (Leiden 1939) 160; WAGNER 94-95; VAN DE PAVERD, *Meßliturgie* (note 56 above) 494.

ἀφανῶν, τῶν ἐν ἔργῳ γενομένων, τῶν ἐν λόγῳ, τῶν ἐκόντι, τῶν ἄκοντι· πασῶν τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀναξίους ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων. . .

For let this, he says, be your work, in your prayers *to give thanks both for the seen and the unseen,* and for the good he has done the unwilling, and for the kingdom, and for hell, and for tribulation, and for refreshment. For thus is the custom of the saints, to pray and *to give thanks for* common *benefits* of all. I know a certain holy man who prayed thus. He used to say nothing before these words, but thus: "*We give you thanks for all your benefits bestowed upon us* the unworthy, from the first day until the present, *for what we know and what we do not know, for the seen, for the unseen,* for those in deed, those in word, those with our wills, those against our wills, for all *that have been bestowed upon* the unworthy, even *us*. . .(162).

By way of a corollary, the fact that this *Constantinopolitan* homily *does* provide doublets for CHR, whereas Chrysostom's *Antiochene* sermon *In Mt hom. 25/26,* 3-4, which refers explicitly to the eucharistic prayer, and to God's benefits past, present, and future recalled in the *eucharistia* as the motive of our thanksgiving, *does not*(163), confirms rather than undermines the line of argument taken thus far regarding Chrysostom's authorship of CHR but not AP, and about his effecting this redaction of CHR in Constantinople between 388-404.

V. Conclusion

The remainder of the presanctus (**19-26**) is Formelgut material with no strict doublets in Chrysostom, so we can prescind from it. From what we have seen concerning the text of the presanctus of CHR in relation to APSyr and the writings of Chrysostom, I would draw the following conclusions:

1. Because CHR has textual elaborations dictated by theological concerns that cannot antedate the anti-Eunomean polemic in Antioch from ca. 355, and these additions are not found in APSyr, at least some passages of APSyr seem to present an older redaction than CHR of an earlier Antiochene Greek anaphora, which I have called AP.

(162) Trans. adapted from *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church,* ed. P. Schaff, series 1, vol. 13 (Grand Rapids 1979) 305-6.

(163) PG 57:331-32.

2. For the same reason, this no longer extant AP Urtext *without the anti-Eunomean emendations* most probably dates from *before* the start of that crisis ca. 355.
3. Conversely, the present redaction of the Greek text of CHR *that does have those additions* must, perforce, be *later* than that date.
4. The authentic writings of John Chrysostom have numerous exact doublets to *precisely these later emendations,* but *not* to passages of the AP Urtext. Hence this redaction of CHR is most probably the work of John Chrysostom himself.
5. Chrysostom probably did this revision of AP between 398-404, as bishop of Constantinople. According to this admittedly hypothetical scenario, he would have introduced into the rite of the Great Church an existing Antiochene Greek anaphora, AP, inserting it, with his own redactional emendations, into the already existing anaphoral setting of the Great Church.
6. APSyr is a Syriac translation of the same anaphora, adapted to the traditional Syro-Antiochene anaphoral setting modelled on SyrJAS. *No one challenges this.* The only issue is whether APSyr is a *later, abbreviated translation of CHR itself,* or a *translation of what I have called AP,* independent of CHR and for that reason lacking CHR's later emendations of the AP Urtext.
7. I have opted, against Wagner, for the latter hypothesis — i.e. that Chrysostom is the redactor of CHR on the basis of AP, but not the author of AP-become-CHR, because:

   [a] In passages common to both, and hence part of the shared Urtext, CHR is more developed than APSyr, and I see no reason why the Syriac translator would have cut the original Greek text so drastically if it contained the passages in question — as, indeed, according to Wagner's scenario, it must have.

   [b] My computer scan of APSyr and CHR shows that *there are no strict doublets in the authentic writings of Chrysostom to any elements peculiar to the text of APSyr.* Those similarities between Chrysostom's writings and AP Urtext passages common to CHR-APSyr, though at times notable, are not real doublets. And besides, they are patient of

another explanation: some of them are at least partly Formelgut material or scriptural resonances. In such cases Chrysostom himself could have been influenced by the common liturgical language, or even directly by AP. All true doublets turned up by the scan are found exclusively in the CHR elaborations of AP not found in APSyr. This makes it highly improbable that the AP text underlying APSyr and CHR is a later abbreviation of an authentic CHR, rather than, as I have said, CHR representing Chrysostom's expanded redaction of AP, elements of which, once we exclude the passages referred to above in the methodological principles, are still embedded in the later Jacobite reworking of AP which APSyr represents.

8. All this, when joined with the total silence of all sources before ca. 750 concerning a Chrysostom Liturgy, and with the explicit mention by Leontius of a Liturgy of the Apostles, makes it more plausible, it seems to me, to conclude that John Chrysostom took an already existing anaphora, which I have called AP, and reworked it into what we know as CHR.

* * *

The advance that my review of this question can claim over Archbishop Georg Wagner's seminal study is modest: what computer scanning adds is completeness, inerrancy, and exclusivity. It turns up each and every instance of the text searched, and shows who does use it — *as well as who does not.* It is this latter, *the principle of exclusivity*, that greatly stengthens the probability of Chrysostom's role in the redaction of CHR. I initially greeted Wagner's thesis with skepticism for two reasons:

1. Because I felt that every Christian writer of Late Antiquity used this sort of vocabulary when speaking of things liturgical and theological, so the parallels really proved nothing.
2. Because it was impossible to determine whether the similarities between Chrysostom and CHR were derived from the former rather than from the latter.

Well, the computer scan simply destroys reason 1), and greatly weakens 2). For if Chrysostom got the language from CHR, *then why are the doublets adduced found in no other Father or anaphora in Late Antiquity?*

Furthermore, the arguments adduced here in this sample (and there are more to come in my projected study of the entire text of CHR, though most of them have already been pointed out by Wagner) are fully as cogent as those advanced by Capelle, and accepted by the scholarly world, for the authenticity of BAS([164]). Well, if BAS, then CHR.

Have I, then, "proven" my two contentions, 1) that Chrysostom *did not compose AP*, but 2) that *CHR as it now stands was indeed redacted by him on the basis of AP*? Hardly. In matters such as this, where argumentation is based on placing the accumulated weight of probabilities on one side of the balance, and that of the improbabilities on the other, and seeing which way the scale tips, the terms "prove" or "demonstrate," have little place.

Let me just say that I think the ball is now in the other court. Anyone who wishes to argue that all the doublets to CHR adduced in the Antiochene writings of Chrysostom were derived by him from an already existing text of CHR, should be prepared to explain how it is that no other defender of orthodoxy during the whole Anomean controversy — not a single one — ever, even once, exploits these ready-made texts in defense of the true doctrine. I find it simply beyond all credibility that if these texts were ready to hand in a eucharistic prayer of the local church where this controversy was raging, no single writer but the young presbyter John would have thought of using them as proof-texts in the polemics of the day.

([164]) B. CAPELLE, *Les liturgies 'basiliennes' et Saint Basile*, in DORESSE-LANNE 45-74. In his review of WAGNER in OKS 24 (1975) 71, F. VAN DE PAVERD states: "Wenn man die von W[agner] gebotenen Parallelen vergleicht mit jenen, di B. Capelle... heraustellt zwischen der byzantinischen Basiliusanaphora und den Werken des Basilius, tritt ein großen Unterschied in der Uberzeugungskraft hervor..." I beg to differ. *Lector peritus iudicet.*

IV

Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite

Introduction

Hagiorite liturgy is not an overworked field. Of the twenty-seven hundred entries in the 132-page Athos bibliography at the end of Chevetogne's millennium volumes, only twenty-seven deal with liturgy, most of them little more than descriptions of actual practice.[1] We still lack those specialized studies that can only be done painstakingly, leaf after leaf, by a phalanx of caterpillars, to borrow Ihor Ševčenko's metaphor.[2] This is not surprising when one considers the formidable obstacles that immediately confront one who delves into the sources of Byzantine monastic liturgy.

These difficulties are not new. Already in the eleventh century, Nikon of the Black Mountain (ca. 1025–post 1088), a monk of the Theotokos monastery on the Μαῦρον ὄρος north of Antioch in Syria and something of an embryonic student of comparative liturgy, saw the problem.[3] In his Ἐν τάξει διαθήκης, a spiritual testament by way of preface to his typikon, he recounts, *inter alia historica et biographica:* "I came upon and collected different typika, of Stoudios and of Jerusalem, and one did not agree with the other, neither Studite with another Studite one, nor Jerusalem ones with Jerusalem ones. And, greatly perplexed by this, I interrogated the wise ones and the ancients, and those having knowledge of these matters and seasoned in things pertaining to the office of ecclesiarch and the rest, of the holy monastery of our holy father Sabas in Jerusalem, including the office of hegumen . . . (*Preface*, 9)."[4] After informing himself on the "order (*taxis*) of the church and the psalmody," and on the various traditions oral and written, he adapts them for his own purposes in his typikon (*Taktikon*, I).

That sums up both the way in which Byzantine monastic liturgy developed and the consequent problems its extant manuscripts pose for the scholar today. Monastic legislators, compilers, and copyists sifted through the sources from a plethora of related usages, picking and choosing what suited them, not haphazardly but within the parameters of basic fidelity to a tradition that was in their blood, much as a writer fully in command of his mother tongue and its literary forms brings forth from his storehouse what is at once old and new. The role of Mount Athos in this process is the subject of this article.

The Sources

Like everything else in cultural history, liturgies of the past are recuperable, at least in part, via their extant monuments, literary and archeological: documents that contain (service books), regulate (typika, diataxeis, canonical legislation), or describe (mystagogia, ekphraseis, histories, pilgrim

An abridged version of this paper was read at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on Mount Athos, 1–3 May 1987.

[1] I. Doens, "Bibliographie de la Sainte Montagne de l'Athos," *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1063: Études et mélanges* (Chevetogne, 1964), II, 357–485.

[2] I. Ševčenko, "Two Varieties of Historical Writing," in idem, *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982), I.

[3] On Nikon see I. Doens, "Nicon de la Montagne Noire," *Byz* 24 (1954), 131–60; J. Nasrallah, "Un auteur antiochien du 11e siècle, Nicon de la Montagne Noire (vers 1025–début du XIIe s.)," *POC* 19 (1969), 150–61; A. Solignac, "Nicon de la Montagne-Noire," *DSp* 11, cols. 319–20; and the further bibliography cited in these works.

[4] V. N. Beneševič, ed., *Taktikon Nikona Černogorca. Grečeskij tekst po rukopisi No. 441 Sinajskago monastyrja sv. Ekaterины*. Vypusk I, Zapiski Ist.-Filol. Fakul'teta Petrogradskago Universiteta, čast' 139 (Petrograd, 1917). References to the internal divisions of this document in this edition will be given in the text of the article. See also idem, *Opisanie grečeskich rukopisej Monastyrja sv. Ekateriny na Sinae* (St. Petersburg, 1911), I, 561–601.

accounts) the celebrations; and what remains of the edifices built to house them. I shall be concerned here with the literary documents. Particular studies, especially those by J. Mateos (typikon, psalter, orthros, canon),[3] G. Bertonière (Easter Vigil),[4] and M. Arranz (typikon, Divine Office, especially the "sung office," and other services of Hagia Sophia),[5] have thrown considerable light on the types, nature, and development of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts. A taxonomy of these documents, contextualized within the history of Studite, Sabaitic, and hagiorite monasticism, is basic to an understanding of the role of Mount Athos in the fixation of the final Byzantine synthesis during the hesychast ascendancy.

Liturgical books are of two kinds: (1) liturgical texts actually used in the services; (2) books that regulate how those texts are to be used. Category 1, the texts themselves, comprises two levels of elements, the *ordinary* and the *proper*. The ordinary of an office is the basic skeleton that remains invariable regardless of the day, feast, or season. The proper comprises those pieces that vary according to the calendar. The ordinary is the bearer of each service's immutable thrust: vespers remains evensong, prayer at sundown to close the day, be it Christmas or any simple feria. The propers nuance this basic thrust with festive and seasonal coloration.

There are two liturgical books for the ordinary of the Byzantine offices (euchology, horologion) and several others for the propers, of which only the psalter and antiphonarion need concern us here. Two further books regulate the use of the above library: the typikon or ordinal which controls the meshing of the conflicting cycles of the propers; and the diataxis, a ceremonial or manual of rubrics telling the celebrants what to do when.[6]

Since the hagiorites had little impact on the development of the liturgical texts, especially of the proper, we can concentrate on the typikon and diataxis, and, to a lesser extent, on the two books of the ordinary, the euchology or sacramentary, and the horologion or book of hours. An examination of the earliest manuscripts of the latter two books shows that they originate in two distinct and initially unrelated liturgical traditions. The euchology is the prayer book of the rite of Hagia Sophia; it contained the prayers and diakonika for the cathedral services of the capital. Its earliest manuscript, Barberini 336, dates from the middle of the eighth century.[9] For the celebration of the hours, the services would be filled out with psalms, refrains, and lections from the antiphonarion and prophetologion, for Constantinople had no separate book of hours. The main Byzantine office book in use today, the horologion, is not Byzantine at all. It comes from Palestine, and its earliest extant manuscripts, Sinai gr. 863 and 864, date from the ninth century.[10]

[3] *Le Typikon de la Grande Eglise*, 2 vols., OCA 165–66 (Rome, 1962–63); "La psalmodie variable dans le rite byzantin," Societas Academica Dacoromana, *Acta philosophica et theologica* 2 (Rome, 1964), 327–39; "Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin," *POC* 11 (1961), 17–35, 201–20.

[4] *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church*, OCA 193 (Rome, 1972).

[5] I shall cite only those that concern the Divine Office: *Kak molilis' Bogu drevnie vizantijcy. Suločnyj krug bogosluženija po drevnim spiskam vizantijskogo evchologija* (Leningrad, 1979); "La liturgie des heures selon l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *Eulogia: Miscellanea liturgica in onore di P. Burkhard Neunheuser*, Studia Anselmiana 68, Analecta Liturgica 1 (Rome, 1979), 1–19; "Le sacerdoce ministériel dans les prières secrètes des vêpres et des matines byzantines," *Euntes docete* 24 (1971), 186–219; "Les grandes étapes de la Liturgie Byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie: Essai d'aperçu historique," *Liturgie de l'Eglise particulière et liturgie de l'Eglise universelle*, BiblEphL, Subsidia 7 (Rome, 1976), 43–72; "Les prières presbytérales de la 'Panychis' de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin et la 'Panikhida' des défunts," *OCP* 40 (1974), 314–43, 41 (1975), 119–39; "Les prières presbytérales de la Tritoekti de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *OCP* 43 (1977), 70–93, 335–54; "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines," *OCP* 37 (1971), 406–36, 38 (1972), 64–115; "Les prières presbytérales des Petites Heures dans l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *OCP* 39 (1973), 29–82; "Les prières sacerdotales des vêpres byzantines," *OCP* 37 (1971), 85–124; "L'office de l'Asmatikos Hesperinos ('vêpres chantées') de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *OCP* 44 (1978), 107–30, 391–412; "L'office de l'Asmatikos Orthros ('matines chantées') de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *OCP* 47 (1981), 122–57; "L'office de la veillée nocturne dans l'Eglise grecque et dans l'Eglise russe," *OCP* 42 (1976), 117–55, 402–25; "N. D. Uspensky: The Office of the All-Night Vigil in the Greek Church and in the Russian Church," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 24 (1980), 83–113, 169–95 (trans. of the previous title); ed., *Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine: Codex Messinensis Gr. 115, A.D. 1131*, OCA 185 (Rome, 1969). On the *asmatikē akolouthia* see also C. Hannick, "Etude sur l'akolouthia asmatikè (avec quatre figures)," *JÖB* 19 (1970), 243–60; O. Strunk, "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," *DOP* 9–10 (1955–56), 175–202. For a complete bibliography see R. Taft, "Select Bibliography on the Byzantine Liturgy of the Hours," *OCP* 48 (1982), 358–70.

[6] On these books see the bibliography in Taft, loc. cit.; also idem, *The Great Entrance*, 2nd ed., OCA 200 (Rome, 1978), xxxi–xxxviii.

[9] Description in A. Strittmatter, "The 'Barberinum S. Marci' of Jacques Goar," *EphL* 47 (1933), 329–67; critical edition by A. Jacob is in preparation for ST.

[10] J. Mateos, "Un horologion inédit de S. Sabas: Le Codex sinaïtique grec 863 (IXe siècle)," *Mélanges E. Tisserant*, III, ST 233 (Vatican City, 1964), 47–76; Sr. Maxime (Leila) Ajjour, Basilienne Chouïrite, *Le Codex Sinaïticus Gr. 864 (IXe s.). Horologion*, I: *Introduction et traduction française*, II: *Texte grec et index*, diss. (Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, 1986). This important dissertation, directed by M. Arranz, will be published in SC. Cf. also Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 57.

This double tradition is confirmed by the existence of two distinct Byzantine liturgical psalters. A *liturgical psalter* is not just the *biblical psalter* or 150 psalms as found in the Bible—in this case, according to the Greek Septuagint text. It is, rather, the biblical text arranged in liturgical units according to the exigencies of a particular liturgical tradition. How these units are then distributed throughout the offices of the liturgical cycle is called the *pensum* or quota of psalmody: so many units per office, per day, per week, according to the season.

The antiphonarion or liturgical psalter of the cathedral office of the Great Church—the ἀσματικὴ ἀκολουθία or "sung office," as it was called—grouped the biblical psalter into antiphons of psalms, seventy-four or seventy-six depending on the manuscript.[11] Sixty-eight of these antiphons, comprising 140 of the 150 psalms, O. Strunk called "The Distributed Psalter," because they were movable, distributed throughout the offices according to a set cycle.[12] The rest of the antiphons pertained to the ordinary and had a fixed place in the structure of certain hours.[13] The psalms of this psalter were subdivided into 2,542 verses, each of which was followed by a refrain.[14] In addition, the antiphonarion appended to the biblical psalms fifteen "odes," all biblical canticles save two, the eighth and fifteenth.[15] These odes were also distributed throughout the hours according to a set system. The earliest extant manuscript of the antiphonarion is the famous Lobkov or Chludov Psalter in the ninth-century Moscow Gosudarstvennyj Ordena Lenina Istoričeskij Muzej Codex 129Δ.[16]

The other Byzantine liturgical psalter is the ψαλτήρ(ιον) or Jerusalem psalter, called "of the Anastasis."[17] Its 150 psalms in 4,882 verses are divided into twenty sections with three groups, called στάσεις or δόξαι, of (ideally) three psalms each.[18] Here, too, biblical canticles, eleven of those found in the odes of the antiphonarion, are grouped into a "canon" of nine "odes" to form an appendix to the psalmody.[19] This Palestinian litur-

[11] On the psalter of the *asmatikos* office see M. Arranz, "L'office de l'Asmatikos Hesperinos, IIe partie: La psalmodie," *OCP* 44 (1978), 391–419; also idem, "Les prières sacerdotales des vêpres byzantines," 109–122; "L'office de l'Asmatikos Orthros," 137–46; Strunk, "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," 175–202.

[12] Strunk, "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," 180–202 passim, esp. 200–201. The distribution of psalms in the *asmatikon* psalter is attributed to Patriarch Anthimos (535–536); Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 50.

[13] Strunk loc. cit., and, in greater detail, the articles of Arranz cited above, note 11.

[14] For the verse count here and in the Palestinian psalter below, I am indebted to M. Arranz. For the refrains, see the works cited above, note 11.

[15] See below, note 19.

[16] On this ms. see Archimandrit Amfilochij (Sergievskij), *Arheologičeskija zametki grečeskoj psaltiri, pisannoj v konce IX veka i peresmotrennoj potom vsej v XII veke i miniaturami X–XII veka, prinadležaščej dejstvitel'nomu členu Obščestva Drevnerusskogo Iskusstva pri Rumjancevskom Moskovskom Muzee i drugich Obščestv A. N. Lobkovu* . . . (Moscow, 1866); N. P. Kondakov, *Miniatjury grečeskoj rukopisi psaltiri IX veka iz sobranija A. I. Chludova = Moskov* (Moscow, 1878); Marfa V. Ščepkina, "Issledovanie licevogo kodeksa IX v. (Chlud. 129-d)," *Slavia* 36 (1967), 601–4; and esp. the facsimile edition, idem, *Miniatjury Chludovskoj Psaltyri: Grečeskij illjustrirovannyj kodeks IX veka* (Moscow, 1977). N. Malickij seems to have been the first to recognize the cathedral character of this psalter, in his study "Le psautier byzantin à illustrations marginales du type Chludov est-il de provenance monastique?" *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, 2me recueil, Orient et Byzance 5 (Paris, 1932), 235–43.

[17] "Psalter" is also used for the antiphonarion: cf. Mateos, *Typicon*, II, 327–28. In liturgy, as elsewhere, Byzantine technical terms are multiple and fluid.

[18] See the tables in *La prière des heures*: Θεολόγιον, La prière des Eglises de rite byzantin 1 (Chevetogne, 1975), Appendice II: Composition des cathismes du psautier (pp. 481–83); Repartition des cathismes du psautier (pp. 483–85).

[19] The odes of both psalters are as follows:

Constantinople (Chludov 129 Δ)	Jerusalem
1. Ex 15:1–19	1
2. Dt 32:1–43	2
3. 1 Kings (= 1 Sam) 2:1–10	3
4. Hab 3:1–19	4
5. Is 26:9–20	5
6. Jonah 2:3–10	6
7. Is 58:10–20	—
8. "Prayer of Manasse"	—
9. Dan 3:26–45(?)	7: Dan 3:26–56
10. Dan 3:52–56(?)	
11. Dan 3:57–88	8
12. Lk 1:46–55 (*Magnificat*)	9: Lk 1:46–55, 68–79
13. Lk 1:68–79 (*Benedictus*)	
14. Lk 2:29–32 (*Nunc dimittis*)	—
15. *Gloria in excelsis* and *Katavasion* (*Dignare, domine*)	—

Since the *Nunc dimittis* and *Gloria* with *Katavasion* are found, respectively, in vespers and matins (lauds) of the Byzantine monastic office, which uses the Jerusalem psalter (R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* [Collegeville, Minn., 1986], 279, 281); and the nonbiblical "Prayer of Manasse" is used in Great Compline of the same tradition (*La prière des heures*, 446–47; Greek text as ode 12 in A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta*, 8th ed. [Stuttgart, 1965], II, 180–81); only ode 7 of the Constantinopolitan list is not common to both systems.

The above list of Chludov odes is Arranz's reconstruction ("L'office de l'Asmatikos Orthros," 140 note 36) on the basis of the description of Arch. Amfilochij (pp. 15–16) and the facsimile edition of Ščepkina (fols. 148v–164v), both cited above, note 16. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, II, 164–85, gives the Greek text of all the odes, dividing them into *Novem odae ecclesiae graecae* (the Jerusalem nine-ode canon) and *Odae aliae* (the rest). This results in an arbitrary numbering of the odes that does not correspond to either liturgical system.

gical psalter would be adopted as the Byzantine monastic psalter and is the only one still in use in the Byzantine liturgy today. Its earliest manuscript, Leningrad 216, dates from 862.[20] In this codex the twenty major divisions of the psalter are not yet called *kathismata*, since that was originally the name of the poetry chanted after each set of three *doxai*.

The Studite Synthesis

How these traditions meld into one is the history of the present Byzantine Rite. To understand how this all began we must turn to Constantinople at the beginning of the ninth century. It is only with the iconoclast struggle and its aftermath that Byzantine monks begin to play a significant role in the government of the Church of Constantinople[21] and in the history of its liturgy. In 799 some monks of Sakkoudion in Bithynia take refuge in the capital and install themselves in the dying Monastery of Stoudios. From this momentous event their abbot St. Theodore (d. 826) acquired the sobriquet by which he is known to us.[22] He summoned to the capital some monks of St. Sabas to help combat iconoclasm, for in the Sabaitic chants Theodore discerned a sure guide of orthodoxy, he writes to Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem.[23] So it was the office of St. Sabas, not the ἀκολουθία τῶν ἀκοιμήτων then currently in use in the monasteries of Constantinople,[24] which the monks of Stoudios would synthesize with material from the *asmatikē akolouthia* or cathedral office of the Great Church to create a hybrid "Studite" office,[25] the ancestor of the one that has come down to us to this day: a Palestinian horologion with its psalmody and hymns grafted onto a skeleton of litanies and their collects from the euchology of the Great Church. Like the fusion of Anglo-Saxon and French in the formation of English, this unlikely mongrel would stand the test of time.

This new Studite synthesis of Constantinopolitan and hagiopolite usages adds to the more sober, desert prayer of Palestine a ritual solemnity to give it what Arranz calls "a strong Byzantine coloration, a certain taste for the cathedral traditions, an importance assigned to chant to the detriment of the psalter, etc."[26]—all of which would become permanent characteristics of the Byzantine hours.

Meanwhile, with the completion of the synaxarion or cycle of fixed feasts in Constantinople by the ninth century,[27] from then through the twelfth century the series of offices for these feasts (later gathered in the menaion) is composed and added to the already existing weekly (oktoechos) and paschal (triodion, pentekostarion) propers of the mobile cycle that revolves around the date of Easter.[28] It is only in this period, at the beginning of the second millennium, that typika begin to appear, at first rudimentary, to regulate the interference of these three conflicting cycles of the proper.[29] In Byzantine monasticism the earliest instances are the *Hypotyposis of Stoudios*[30] and, from Mount Athos, its closely related descendant, the *Hypotyposis of Athanasius of the Great Laura*.[31]

The Studite Rite on Mount Athos

The Hypotyposis of St. Athanasius the Athonite

It is at this point that Mount Athos enters liturgical history, when Athanasius the Athonite adopts the Studite rule and succeeds in instituting cenobitism definitively at Lavra after the death of Em-

[20] Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 57–58.

[21] H. G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich, 1978), 210–11.

[22] See J. Leroy, "La réforme studite," *Il monachesimo orientale*, OCA 153 (Rome, 1958), 181–214; further bibliography in Taft, "Select Bibliography," 558–59.

[23] *Ep.* II, 15, PG 99, cols. 1160–64; also II, 16, PG 99, cols. 1164–68. Cf. N. Egender, "Introduction," *La prière des heures*, 36.

[24] On these "sleepless monks" and their office see Taft, "Select Bibliography," nos. 3, 9, 19, 20, 23–26, 79.

[25] Arranz, "La liturgie des heures selon l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," 2, calls this the "tradition of the Byzantine West" (Athos, Georgia, Rus', S. Italy) to distinguish it from the neo-Sabaitic Palestinian monastic usage treated below.

[26] "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines, II: Les manuscrits," *OCP* 38 (1972), 85.

[27] Mateos, *Typicon*, I.

[28] Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 52–63.

[29] Ibid., 59–70. On the nature of the typikon, a term of monastic vintage, see 62–63, and idem, "L'office de l'Asmatikos Hesperinos," *OCP* 44 (1978), 401–2. Older Russian studies of the typikon, while still retaining considerable value, require updating on the basis of Arranz's far more nuanced conclusions: I. Mansvetov, *Cerkovnyj ustav (Tipik), ego obrazovanie i sud'ba v grečeskoj i russkoj cerkvi* (Moscow, 1885), with the important review by A. Dmitrievskij in *Christianskoe čtenie* (1888), no. 2, 480–576; M. Skaballanovič, *Tolkovyj Tipikon. Ob"jasnitel'noe izloženie Tipikona s istoričeskim vvedeniem*, 3 vols. (Kiev, 1910–15); A. Schmemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (New York, 1966).

[30] Edited from the 13th–14th-c. codex Vatopedi 322 (956) by A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka*, 3 vols. (Kiev, 1895, 1901; Petrograd, 1917), I, xii–xxxi, 224–38, with variants from Vatican gr. 2029 (= A. Mai, *Nova patrum bibliotheca*, V.4 (Rome, 1849), 111–25 and PG 99, cols. 1704–20, which Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, 165–66, says is an older redaction, closer to the Athanasian typikon (see the following note). I am indebted to Prof. Timothy Miller for making available to me his version of this text, prepared for the Dumbarton Oaks typika project.

[31] Editions from codex Iviron 754 (228), 16th c.: Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 246–56; P. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), 130–40. On these edi-

peror Nikephoras II Phokas, 11 December 969.[32] Theodore of Stoudios apparently wrote no rule himself, but in his *Great Catechesis*, I, 1 and 33, he refers to the κανών of the cenobitic life as well as to a *Diatyposis of Theodosius the Cenobiarch* (*Cat.*, I, 53 and *Carm.*, III, 40), and after his death the Studite rule or Hypotyposis was codified by his followers.[33] For the beginnings of this cenobitic movement on Athos we have the two *Vitae* of St. Athanasius,[34] as well as the three writings attributed to him, listed here in chronological order:[35]

1. The Ὑποτύπωσις or rule, the Urtext of which was composed by Athanasius soon after the foundation of the Lavra in 962–963.[36]
2. The Τυπικόν or Κανονικόν, written during the reign of Emperor John I Tzimiskes (11 December 969–10 January 976).[37] This is the charter of the Great Lavra, and refers to Athanasius' conversion to cenobitism.[38]
3. The Διατύπωσις or last will and testament of Athanasius, written sometime after December 984 (Lemerle), or perhaps even later than September 993 (Noret), and before the author's death in the first years of the eleventh century.[39]

The liturgical information in the *Vitae*, especially *Vita B*, 26, is too general and mostly descriptive to be of much use to us except to confirm that orthros began, as now, with the *doxa* versicle of Luke 2:14.[40] But the Hypotyposis is another matter. Though copied in later manuscripts as simply a continuation of the Testament,[41] the earliest codex with the Hypotyposis, the eleventh-century Lavra Skeuophylakion 1, gives it separately under the lemma that summarizes well its contents: "On the sacred offices, on the quantity of food and drink, on the discipline at table, and on certain other rules and counsels."[42]

The present redaction of the Hypotyposis is from the Lavra within a generation of Athanasius, and it clearly represents his heritage.[43] For in both his Typikon and Diatyposis Athanasius alludes to his authorship of a rule,[44] and the abandonment of so venerated a founder's patrimony shortly after his demise would hardly have gone unchallenged and unnoticed in the annals of the Holy Mountain!

The first part of this precious document, our earliest source for the liturgy at the origins of Athonite cenobitism, manifests in every place its unmistakable dependence on the Studite Hypotyposis, of which, indeed, it is simply a light Athonite retouching of no substantial import in the history of Byzantine liturgical development.[45]

More important for the history of the liturgy is

tions and the mss. consulted see Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, 165–66. To these early Byzantine monastic sources one could also add the rudimentary *Typos* of St. Sabas in codex Sinai gr. 1096, ed. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 222–24 and E. Kurtz, *BZ* 3 (1894), 167–70. I am grateful to my confrère Prof. George Dennis, S.J. for making available to me his version of the Athonite Hypotyposis prepared for the Dumbarton Oaks typika project.

[32] *Vita A*, 114–28, esp. 123, ed. J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, CCSG 9 (Turnhout, 1982), 54–62. See J. Leroy, "La conversion de St. Athanase l'Athonite à l'idéal cénobitique et l'influence studite," *Le millénaire du Mont-Athos* (note 1 above), I, 101–20. Further bibliography on Studite life and liturgy in Taft, "Select Bibliography."

[33] Leroy, "La réforme studite," 208–9, and notes 218, 220 (see p. 186 note 43 on Leroy's system of referring to the *Catecheses*; where no edition is cited, the *Catechesis* in question is unedited). Cf. also I, 14 in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., Τοῦ ὁσίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου Μεγάλη Κατήχησις (St. Petersburg, 1904), 95. On the confusing issue of Theodore's *Great* and *Little Catecheses*, which still await a critical edition, see J. Leroy, "Les Petites Catéchèses de S. Théodore Studite," *Le Muséon* 71 (1958), 329–58.

[34] Ed. Noret (above, note 32). On the relative precedence of the *Vitae* see ibid., chap. 3 and the review by J. Darrouzès, *REB* 42 (1984), 305; also P. Lemerle, "Chronologie de Lavra des origines à 1204," in idem, A. Guillou, N. Svoronis, and D. Papachryssanthou, eds., *Actes de Lavra*, I: *Des origines à 1204*, *Texte*, Archives de l'Athos 5 (Paris, 1970), 24–30 (hereafter *Lavra*, I). Noret and Darrouzès opt with Lemerle, against Leroy and J. Mossay, for the priority of A. A. Kazhdan argues against the absolute priority of *A* and raises the possibility of an *Urvita* as source of both *A* and *B* ("Hagiographical Notes," *Byz* 53 [1983], 538–44).

[35] On these documents and their relation to one another and to *Vita A*, see J. Noret, "La Vie la plus ancienne de S. Athanase l'Athonite confrontée aux écrits laissés par le saint," *AB* 100 (1982), 545–66; Lemerle, *Lavra*, I, 13–22; J. Leroy, "S. Athanase l'Athonite et la Règle de S. Benoît," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 29 (1953), 111 ff.

[36] Editions cited above, note 31; for the date of the Hypotyposis see Noret, "La Vie la plus ancienne," 547, against Lemerle, *Lavra*, I, 21; for the foundation of Lavra, ibid., 36.

[37] Ed. Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 102–22. For the date see Noret, "La Vie la plus ancienne," 551–52, against Lemerle, *Lavra*, I, 17, who argues for ca. 973–975.

[38] Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 115.

[39] Ibid., 123–30; Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 246–56. For the date, Lemerle, *Lavra*, I, 20; Noret, "La Vie la plus ancienne," 564. Noret notes (ibid., 565) that the Diatyposis is cited in *Vita A* 214:4–9 (ed. Noret, 105 = Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 124:10–15).

[40] Ed. Noret, 154.

[41] Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 238–46, 246–56.

[42] Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 272.

[43] Leroy, "S. Athanase l'Athonite et la Règle de S. Benoît," 113 ff.

[44] Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 115:21–116:9, 124:20 ff. Lemerle takes both texts as referring to the Hypotyposis (*Lavra*, I, 21).

[45] Leroy, "S. Athanase l'Athonite et la Règle de S. Benoît," 115, gives some examples that show the sort of process under way here. *Vita B*, 26 (cf. *A*, 84) attributes to Athanasius the institution of two epistimonarchoi, one for each choir; of an ἀφυπνιστής to keep the monks awake during the offices; and of porters to control the traffic in and out of church and keep the monks from leaving the services early. It is such minor prescriptions that distinguish the Athanasian Hypotyposis (Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 135) from its Studite sources.

the development in this same period of the full Studite typikon to regulate the synthesis of Sabaitic and Constantinopolitan practices. This fusion, completed by the twelfth century, will spread to Athos and as far as Italy, and even to the monasteries of Palestine.[46] Still extant typika of Southern Italy, Russia, Georgia, and Athos remain as monuments to this shortlived Studite Golden Age, soon to give way to another wave of Sabaitic influence.[47]

The first developed Studite typikon[48] was composed by Alexis, patriarch from 1025–43 and earlier hegumen of Stoudios, for the monastery he founded near Constantinople.[49] It is this typikon, extant only in Slavonic,[50] that St. Theodosius Pečerskij translated into Slavonic in the eleventh century and introduced as the rule of the Kievo-Pečerskaja Lavra or Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, cradle of Orthodox monasticism among the East Slavs.[51] From Ukraine it passed to the whole of Rus' and Muscovy. There are six extant Slavonic manuscripts of this document, dating from the eleventh to fifteenth centuries.[52] This same usage appears in Magna Graecia at the beginning of the twelfth century, as witness the *Typikon of S. Salvatore of Messina* (A.D. 1131) edited by my colleague Miguel Arranz, S.J.[53]

From Hagiopolites to Hagiorites. Georgia and the Athonite Connection

The earliest evidence for the developed Studite usage on Mount Athos comes from Iviron. Arab incursions into Palestine in the ninth and tenth centuries disrupt once again the monastic life that had flowered anew in the renaissance following the Persian onslaught of 614, and "at the end of the tenth century the center of Georgian literary activity shifts from Palestine to Athos. The Athonite Iviron Lavra becomes the source from which the new, fresh current of liturgical life pours into Georgia."[54]

1. St. Euthymius[55]

Iviron, first Iberian monastery on Athos, was thrust into liturgical history by its second abbot, Euthymius, hegumen from 1005–16 and founder of the Athonite Georgian literary movement. He completed most of his prodigious literary activity before his abbacy, though he resumed it from his retirement until his death on 13 May 1028.[56]

It is with this movement that we first encounter a major Athonite role in the history of Byzantine liturgy. For it is precisely in the eleventh century, through the influence of Iviron, that we see clear evidence of the Byzantinization of Georgian liturgy.[57] Not of course that there were no Byzantine

[46] Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 63 ff; "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines," *OCP* 38 (1972), 85 ff, 91 note 2; "Les prières presbytérales des Petites Heures dans l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," 81; "L'office de l'Asmatikos Hesperinos," 109–16 (all cited above, note 7). Also A. Baumstark, "Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus," *OC* 24 = ser. 3, vol. 2 (1927), 22 ff.

[47] Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines," *OCP* 38 (1972), 85.

[48] On the Studite-type typikon mss. see Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 64–65; Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, 163–220; and passim in the articles of Arranz cited in note 7.

[49] Balsamon (PG 137, cols. 1041–43) says "Patriarch Lord Alexis built the monastery called 'of the Lord Alexis'," and that is how R. Janin identifies it in *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, 1ère Partie, tome III: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), 19. Mansvetov, *Cerkovnyj ustav*, 118, on the basis of the Slavonic mss. of the typikon, says it was named Dormition (*vo imja Uspenija Božiej Materi*) according to Moscow Synod Slav 333/381 (A.D. 1398), fol. 82v, and Theotokos (*vo imja Bogorodnyja Materej*), in the 12th–13th-c. Moscow Synod Slav 330/380, fol. 196v. But Janin (pp. 156–244) knows no Koimesis monastery, nor does he associate any of the innumerable Theotokos monasteries of the capital with Alexis' foundation.

[50] M. Lisicyn, *Pervonačal'nyj slavjano-russkij Tipikon: Istoriko-archeologičeskoe issledovanie* (St. Petersburg, 1911); Skaballanovič, *Tolkovyj Tipikon*, I, 399–401; Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, 167.

[51] See the *Povest' vremennych let* for 1051, ed. D. S. Lichačev, *Čast' pervaja: Tekst i perevod* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), 107; Eng. trans. in S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, Mediaeval Academy of America Pub. 60 (Cambridge, Mass., n.d.), 142; and the *Vita* of Theodosius for the year 1064, in O. A. Knjazevskaja, V. G. Dem'janov, M. V. Ljapon, and S. I. Kotkov, eds., *Uspenskij sbornik XII–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1971), 89. I am grateful to my colleague Prof. Sophia Senyk, O.S.B.M., for these references. Cf. Skaballanovič, *Tolkovyj Tipikon*, I, 399–400.

[52] Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 65 note 34, lists them.

[53] *Typikon* (cited above, note 7).

[54] K. Kekelidze, *Liturgičeskie gruzinskie pamjatniki v otečestvennych knigochraniliščach i ich naučnoe značenie* (Tiflis, 1908), 478. On Georgian monks in Palestine see ibid., 23, 61–64, 185; also G. Peradze, "An Account of the Georgian Monks and Monasteries in Palestine as Revealed in the Writings of Non-Georgian Pilgrims," *Georgica* 1, nos. 4–5 (1937), 181–237.

[55] On Euthymius and his work, see M. Tarchnišvili and J. Aßfalg, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, ST 185 (Vatican City, 1955), 126–54; *Vitae* of John and Euthymius in I. V. Abuladze et al., eds., *Jveli K'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis jeglebi*, II (Tbilisi, 1967); Latin version, P. Peeters, "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes," *AB* 36–37 (1917–19), 8–68; French trans., *Irénikon* 6 (1929), 767–84; 7 (1930), 50–67, 181–96, 448–60.

[56] *Vita*, 24–26, 75; Tarchnišvili–Aßfalg, *Geschichte*, 128–29; on Iviron see ibid., 70–72, and esp. J. Lefort, "Histoire du monastère d'Iviron, des origines jusqu'au milieu du XIe siècle," in idem, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou, and H. Métrévéli, eds., *Actes d'Iviron*, I: *Texte*, Archives de l'Athos 14 (Paris, 1985), 3–91 (hereafter *Iviron*, I).

[57] Though much has been written on various aspects of the pre-Byzantine Iberian liturgy, there is no general synthesis. Especially useful among recent studies is the overview of M. van Esbroeck, "Eglise géorgienne des origines au Moyen Age," *BK* 40 (1982), 186–99, esp. 195–96; to which must be added his "Le manuscrit sinaïtique géorgien 34 et les publications récentes

elements in Iberian usage before this date, but as M. Tarchnišvili and J. Aßfalg affirm: "To the [Georgian] monks of Mount Athos is due the honor of having created practically all the biblical and liturgical *textus recepti* still in use among the Georgians. Their influence on the whole life of the Church, her culture and tradition, was so lasting and so general that Georgian Christianity since the eleventh century is hardly conceivable apart from the Athonite school."[58]

A reflection of the import and success of this momentous change of liturgical tradition, as well as a precise confirmation of its dating, is found in the *Questions and Responses* of Euthymius, number 6:

> *Question*: What about the Liturgy of James? Is it authentic or not?
> *Answer*: The Liturgy of James is indeed authentic, and originally was in use in the Greek Churches and among us [Georgians]. But since St. Basil and Blessed John Chrysostom composed their liturgies, the faithful preferred these because of their brevity. The Liturgy of James has fallen into oblivion, and all now make use of the Liturgy of Chrysostom, or in Lent that of Basil.[59]

It is obvious what is behind all this. The Byzantine takeover has disturbed Euthymius' interlocutor,[60] leading him to question the legitimacy of the older hagiopolite Georgian tradition in the face of contemporary Byzantine hagiorite usage. Euthymius' answer reflects exactly the relative precedence of the Constantinopolitan anaphoras at the turn of the century, when Chrysostom gained the upper hand over Basil to assume primacy as the main liturgy of the capital, and as first text in the new Constantinopolitan recension of the euchology.[61]

From the list of books Euthymius is credited with translating, one can see the new synthesis under way: not only does he translate the synaxarion (i.e., typikon) and the Constantinopolitan euchology, but also the prayers and hours of the Palestinian horologion.[62] The typikon was doubtless a redaction of the Athanasian Diatyposis. Iviron was closely linked to the Great Laura, where Euthymius and his father John the Iberian, first hegumen of Iviron (979/80–1005),[63] were received by Athanasius himself ca. 965–969,[64] and became such favored disciples that in his Diatyposis Athanasius names them successive trustees (ἐπίτροπος) of Lavra, to oversee the choice of his successor as hegumen after his death.[65]

2. The Synaxarion and Lectionary of St. George Mt'acmindeli

But our most important Athonite liturgical document after the Athanasian Hypotyposis is a typikon from the hand of George III Mt'acmindeli (ca. 1009–d. 29 June 1065), that is, "the Hagiorite" (from *Mt'acminda*, "The Holy Mountain"), eighth hegumen of Iviron from ca. 1044 until his resignation in 1056.[66] His typikon, the so-called *Synaxarion of George Mt'acmindeli*, is extant in several Georgian manuscripts, the earliest of which are the eleventh-century codices Tiflis A-97 and A-193, along with Sinai Georgian 4.[67] Based on a Constantinopolitan Greek original that Bertonière dates before 906, it was translated between 1042 and 1044 when George was *dekanos* (dean, i.e., ec-

de liturgie palestinienne," *OCP* 46 (1980), 125–41; idem, "Les manuscrits de Jean Zosime Sin. 34 et Tsagareli 81," *BK* 39 (1981), 63–75; idem, "L'Hymnaire de Michel Modrekili et son sanctoral (Xe siècle)," *BK* 38 (1980), 113–30; H. Metreveli, "Die georgischen Liturgie-Handschriften des 9. u. 10. Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung für die Erforschung der byzantinischen Hymnographie," in H. Voigt, ed., *XX. Deutschen Orientalistentag*, ZDMG Suppl. 4 (Wiesbaden, 1980), 161–69; A. Wade, "The Oldest *Iadgari*: The Jerusalem Tropologion, V–VIII c.," *OCP* 50 (1984), 451–56; and the literature they refer to.

[58] *Geschichte*, 72; for earlier Byzantine liturgical influence, see p. 35. Cf. G. Peradse, "L'activité littéraire des moines géorgiens au monastère d'Iviron, au Mont Athos," *RHE* 23 (1927), 530–39.

[59] G. Peradse, "Ein Dokument aus der mittelalterlichen Liturgiegeschichte Georgiens," *Kyrios* 1 (1936), 77.

[60] On the problem of who this was, see Tarchnišvili-Aßfalg, *Geschichte*, 330–31.

[61] A. Jacob, "La tradition manuscrite de la Liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome (VIIIe–XIIe siècles), *Eucharisties d'orient et d'occident*, Lex Orandi 47 (Paris, 1970), 111–13; and more fully in idem, *Histoire du formulaire grec de la Liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome*, diss. (Louvain, 1968), 43–56, where he cites Euthymius in this context (54).

[62] *Vita*, 25 and Tarchnišvili-Aßfalg, *Geschichte*, 131–53, esp. 150–51. K. S. Kekelidze found a fragment of Euthymius' Synaxarion in codex Tiflis Ecclesiastical Archeological Museum 648, which he describes at length: *Ierusalimskij kanonar VII veka (Gruzinskaja versija)* (Tiflis, 1912), 38–39, 297–310.

[63] Not, however, the founder: see Lefort, *Iviron*, I, 19 ff, 93.

[64] Ibid., 20.

[65] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, 1, 240; Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, 124–25. On this question see Lemerle, *Lavra*, I, 19–21, 45–46.

[66] On George and his works see Lefort, *Iviron*, I, 50 ff, 94; Tarchnišvili-Aßfalg, *Geschichte*, 154–74; *Vita*, ed. Abuladze (note 55 above), II, and Peeters, "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes," 69–159.

[67] On this typikon and its mss., sources, date, etc., see M. van Esbroeck, "L'empereur Jean Tzimisces dans le calendrier de Georges l'Athonite," *BK* 41 (1983), 68–69; Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, 115, 136, 141–43, 169–71; Kekelidze, *Liturgičeskie gruzinskie pamjatniki*, 483–506. Kekelidze gives a Russian trans. of the text from A-193 (ibid., 228–72) with the missing lenten-Easter-Pentecost cycle filled in from the 12th-c. codex Tbilisi A-222 (ibid., 272–313). The Georgian text is edited by E. Gabidzashvili in Abuladze (note 55 above), IV (Tbilisi, 1968).

clesiarch) of Iviron before becoming hegumen. Its title, *Synaxarion*, is enough to betray its Constantinopolitan antecedents. It is actually a complete typikon of the Studite heritage, dependent on the Hypotyposis of Stoudios and the Diatyposis of Athanasius, but filled out with a sanctoral (synaxarion) derived from the *Typikon of the Great Church*, an influence also reflected in the Holy Saturday and Easter celebrations.

George's *Vita Euthymii*, 80, 83–84, also written before 1044, already reflects the conflict between Byzantine hagiorite and older hagiopolite Iberian usages,[68] and with his typikon there is no longer any doubt to whom the victory will go. This extremely important document is the earliest extant detailed description of liturgical life on Athos. It shows that the earliest hagiorite liturgy is based on Studite usage, which by the time of our text was already an amalgam of Sabaitic uses (*Phōs hilaron* at vespers, Palestinian orthros with canon, etc.) with the rite of the Great Church. Indeed, as Bertonière has hypothesized, the sparse liturgical material in the earlier Athonite Hypotyposis and Diatyposis is so rudimentary probably because the needed material was already available to the monks in the liturgical books of the Great Church.[69] This is especially true for the Divine Liturgy. Only with the massive infusion of Sabaitic elements into the monastic offices of Stoudios, and the explosion of poetic compositions, do we see the gradual formation of anthologies of the proper (oktoechos, triodion, pentekostarion, menaion) to accommodate this new material, necessitating, in turn, complex typika to control the interference of the conflicting cycles.[70]

Gérard Garitte has shown this same shift from hagiopolite to hagiorite usage reflected in the manuscripts of the Iberian lectionary tradition.[71] The earliest Georgian manuscripts of the lectionary follow the ancient lection system of Jerusalem, before the Byzantinization of hagiopolite usage in the second millennium. But by the first half of the eleventh century, George had translated into Georgian the Byzantine lectionary, of which manuscripts such as the contemporary Iviron Georgian 60, copied on Athos itself in 1043, are still extant.

It is from the same century, too, that our earliest extant Georgian version of the Chrysostom liturgy dates, Sinai Georgian 89, a Palestinian monastic manuscript, which shows how fast the movement affected the Georgian monasteries of the Holy Land.[72]

Characteristics of the Studite Cursus

It has become a topos for modern scholars solemnly to inform us that there was no such thing as a religious order in Byzantium. But the Studite confederation of nearly a thousand members in half a dozen monasteries under one rule and, what is more important, under the complete jurisdiction of the abbot of Stoudios, was as much like an order, call it what you will, as anything in the contemporary West.[73] Cenobitism means not just life together, but *common* life, that is, life under the same rule, and it was the Studite cenobitic rule and its liturgy that St. Athanasius adopted for his laura.

What are some of the characteristics of this Studite-hagiorite usage in the foundational period of Athonite monasticism? Nikon of the Black Mountain puts his finger on the main issue when he tells us in his *Taktikon*, I, 20, that his typikon does not have the Sabaitic all-night vigil for Sundays and feasts but follows rather the Studite and Athonite horarium of compline, mesonyktikon, and orthros, in accord with the *Asketica* of Basil, the *Vita* of Pachomius, and the usage of Stoudios and the rest of the ancient coenobia: "It is necessary to know that according to the former typikon [of the Holy Fathers] there is no agrypnia the whole night through, neither on feasts nor on Sunday, but rather the order of the ritual (*akolouthia*) at the time of apodeipnon and of mesonyktikon and of orthros according to the Typikon of Stoudios and of the Holy Mountain and, in a word, according to the custom of the cenobitic diataxeis."

So the difference between Studite and Sabaitic usage concerns mainly the order of night prayer, and Nikon indicates the basis for this difference when he cites his sources, all cenobitic. Psalmody and vigils were the core of the prayer of the Palestinian anchorites, and this agrypnia will be one of the main characteristics distinguishing the looser lavriote and hesychast organization from the tight cenobitism of the Studites, who, if we can believe Nikon, had a lighter *pensum* of psalmody and fewer offices, as well as the effrontery to sleep at night.

But although Nikon lists the differences between the uses of Jerusalem and Stoudios, and insists that a monk needs both typika to know the traditions of the Fathers (I, 23), a close reading of the *Taktikon*, I, 1–23, makes it obvious that he is contrasting not two totally distinct traditions but two variant uses of the same Palestinian rite. Both use the same Palestinian psalter of twenty *kathismata*—they just distribute the *pensum* differently. Both have, at orthros, stichera with lauds and aposticha, but the hagiopolites omit the stichera on ferias. Further, the Studites do not say little vespers before supper and great vespers after, as in the agrypnia, and there are differences in the use of the Great Doxology at orthros, though Nikon is wrong in claiming that the Studite office doesn't have it at all (I, 22).[74]

This issue of the night office will become a *crux interpretum* for following the trail of later Sabaitic infiltrations into the typika, where a taxonomy of the manuscripts is also demanded. A rule of thumb is immediately available: some typika open with Easter, others begin with the weekly agrypnia or all-night monastic vigil from Saturday night vespers until Sunday eucharist.[75] In other words, some follow the order of the temporal or mobile cycle of the Constantinopolitan church year, which begins with Easter orthros, whereas others, more purely monastic and less concerned with the liturgical cycles of the cathedral calendar, begin with what is dearest to the monks, the most important and characteristically monastic office of the weekly cycle, the vigil. The books that begin with Easter are Studite typika, books representing the Constantinopolitan monastic synthesis. Those that begin with the agrypnia represent a later reworking of this synthesis in the monasteries of the Judean desert between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, probably in the period following the disruption of hagiopolite liturgy through the destruction of the Cathedral of the Anastasis by Caliph al-Ḥākim in 1009. Let us call this the neo-Sabaitic synthesis.

The neo-Sabaitic Synthesis

As Anton Baumstark said, it is of the very nature of liturgy to adapt itself to the circumstances of time and place.[76] So the eleventh-century Palestinian monks did not just adopt the readily available Studite synthesis; they modified it to suit their needs. Their positioning of the agrypnia at the head of the book, in place of the Easter Vigil, which opens the movable cycle of the liturgical year and so is found at the head of Byzantine lectionaries and Studite typika, doubtless betrays a conscious attempt at restoration. The agrypnia had probably fallen into disuse during the frequent disruptions of monastic life in Palestine. At any rate this Palestinian vigil, which characterizes the final generation of typika as first found in twelfth-century neo-Sabaitic manuscripts (Sinai gr. 1094, 1095, 1096, etc.), represents a return to more austere monastic usage.[77]

The Agrypnia

According to the *Vita* 32, it was Sabas himself who first instituted at the laura that "there an agrypnia be held, uninterruptedly from evening until morning, in both the churches [of the laura] on Sundays and dominical feasts."[78] And his short testament, come down to us in a twelfth-century manuscript, insists on the duty of all monks to come in from their solitude for the Saturday night agrypnia.[79]

Palestinian monastic life was lavriote, not strictly cenobitic, "monk" was more a job description than a permanent address, and koinonia was a precarious business at best. The Saturday night agrypnia was of great importance in this system: as in Lower Egypt, the brotherhood assembled for common synaxes only on the weekend. The hundreds of anchorites who lived in small groups or as solitaries in scattered huts and grottoes came in from the

[68] Peeters, "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes," 60–61, 63–64; for the date cf. G. Garitte in *Le Muséon* 71 (1958), 58.

[69] *Easter Vigil*, 171.

[70] Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 52–63.

[71] G. Garitte, "Analyse d'un lectionnaire byzantino-géorgien des évangiles (sin. géorg. 74)," *Le Muséon* 91 (1978), 150–52; idem, "Un fragment d'évangéliaire géorgien à la Bodléienne," *Le Muséon* 85 (1972), 144 and notes 17–18; R. B. Blake, "Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la bibliothèque de la Laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos," *ROC* 9 (29) (1933–34), 249–50, no. 60.

[72] A. Jacob, "Une version géorgienne inédite de la Liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome," *Le Muséon* 77 (1964), 65–119. On the Georgian monks of Sinai see Tarchnišvili-Aßfalg, *Geschichte*, 62–64, 69.

[73] Statistics from Leroy, "La réforme studite," 265–7.

[74] The *Gloria in excelsis* is not mentioned in the Hypotyposis, cf. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 224–38, but other Studite typika have it: see Arranz, *Typicon*, 392.

[75] Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 64.

[76] *Comparative Liturgy* (Westminster, Md., 1958), 18.

[77] For a general history of the agrypnia see the lengthy article by N. D. Uspenskij, "Čin vsenoščnogo bdenija (*Hē agrypnia*) na pravoslavnom vostoke i v Russkoj Cerkvi," *Bogoslovskie Trudy* 18 (1978), 5–117, 19 (1978), 3–69. The chapters in vol. 18 cover the origins of the neo-Sabaitic agrypnia and its spread to Athos; see also Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 69; idem, "N. D. Uspensky: The Office of the All-Night Vigil," 174 ff. The term "agrypnia" alone betrays a Palestinian influence; the Constantinopolitan term for vigil was "pannychis"; Mateos, *Typicon*, II, 311; Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales de la 'Pannychis'," *OCP* 40 (1974), 314–15, 342–43; 41 (1975), 135 ff.

[78] Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Leben der Sabas*, ed. E. Schwartz, TU 49.2 (Leipzig, 1939), 118.

[79] Codex Sinai 1096, ed. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 223.

wilderness for the vigil in droves, overflowing the Church of St. Sabas into the courtyard and surrounding chapels (the Armenians had their own) so that the λιτή at which bread was blessed and distributed to sustain the brethren during their all-night watch had to be celebrated in several places.[83] The overriding importance of the vigil in early anchoretic monasticism is confirmed by the fact that in the early monastic sources, visions during monastic prayer almost always take place at the night vigil.[84]

The agrypnia of the Sabaitic monks is described in the account of a visit paid by the Abbots John and Sophronios to the Abbot Nilos of Sinai, a Greek source of the late sixth or early seventh century preserved in the *Hermēneiai* of our intrepid collector Nikon of the Black Mountain.[85] The vigil comprised hagiopolite vespers, followed by the *hexapsalmos*, undoubtedly of orthros, and then the entire psalter, divided into three staseis of fifty psalms each. Each stasis concluded with the Our Father, *Kyrie eleison* fifty times, and a New Testament reading (from the epistles of James, 1–2 Peter, and 1–3 John). After the third stasis came all nine odes of the canon, with the Our Father and *Kyrie* after the third and sixth. The service ended with lauds (*ainoi*), as in schema I.

Schema I: THE AGRYPNIA

Hexapsalmos		(Pss 3, 37, 62, 87, 102, 142)
Our Father		
Psalmody	Stasis I	Pss 1–50
		Our Father
		Kyrie eleison 50 times
		Lesson from James
	Stasis II	Pss 51–100
		Our Father
		Kyrie eleison 50 times
		Lesson from 1 or 2 Peter
	Stasis III	Pss 101–150
		Our Father
		Kyrie eleison 50 times
		Lesson from 1, 2, or 3 John
Nine Odes of Biblical Canticles, with Our Father and *Kyrie eleison* after the 3rd and 6th		
The *Ainoi*		Pss 148–150
Gloria in excelsis		
Creed		
Our Father		
Kyrie eleison 300 times		
Concluding Prayer		

The Canon

Henceforth this agrypnia, whose origins and development I need not detail here since they are not part of Athonite liturgical history, will form the centerpiece of Byzantine monastic liturgy, on which further developments of the neo-Sabaitic synthesis will depend. For instance, this is why the Byzantine *pensum* of psalmody still begins its weekly cycle with Psalm 1 at Saturday vespers, regardless of the season. It is also why orthros, initially only on Sunday, later every day, acquired the entire canon of nine odes. At first, of course, this canon comprised the *biblical canticles*[87] with refrains or troparia, not the *poetic odes* which later substituted for them. The earliest manuscripts with troparia for biblical canticles are the seventh-century Egyptian papyrus Rylands 466 and the fragment Heidelberg 1362, and by the eighth century the nine odes and their refrains have been systematized.[88]

Although this nine-ode poetic canon is the characteristic centerpiece of present-day Byzantine orthros,[89] it is difficult to imagine that such an enormous quantity of ecclesiastical poetry, covering each day page after page in the oktoechos, triodion, pentekostarion, and menaion, could have been destined for daily matins. In fact, during the earlier period of the Studite hymnographers, *triōdia*, or canons of only three odes, were composed for ferial days, and *tetraōdia* for Saturdays. Mateos, analyzing the Byzantine office documents against the backdrop of the broader tradition, has

[83] *Vita*, 20, 32, ed. Schwartz, 105, 117; cf. Arranz, "N. D. Uspensky: The Office of the All-Night Vigil," 175–78.

[84] E.g., the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, Rufinus' additions, 25; Cassian, *Institutes*, II, 5–6; *Vita B*, 28, of St. Athanasius the Athonite, ed. Noret, 156–57; *Vita* of St. Stephen the Sabaite, 162–65 (see below, note 82).

[85] A. Longo, "Il testo integrale della *Narrazione degli abati Giovanni e Sofronio* attraverso le Hermēneiai di Nicone," *RSBN* 12–13 (1965–66), 235–67. The agrypnia is described in lines 5–30, with further details passim throughout. Less detailed description also in the *Vita* of St. Stephen the Sabaite (d. 31 March 794), Greek recension, 162–65, *Acta SS Iulii*, III, 3rd ed. (1867), 570–71; Georgian recension, 162–65, esp. 162:8, 163:3, 165:3, ed. G. Garitte, "Un extrait géorgien de la Vie d'Etienne le sabaïte," *Le Muséon* 67 (1954), 83–90. See also Arranz, "N. D. Uspensky: The Office of the All-Night Vigil," 174–78.

[87] See above, note 19, right column. On the later suppression of ode 2 except in Lent, see L. Bernhard, "Der Ausfall der 2. Ode im byzantinischen Neunodenkanon," T. Michels, ed. *Heresis: Festschrift für A. Rohracher* (Salzburg, 1968), 91–101.

[88] H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert," *Biblica* 38 (1949), 261–63.

[89] See Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 281–83.

concluded that initially the canticles of the canon were distributed throughout the week, two per day, one variable, one fixed (the ninth: *Magnificat-Benedictus* of Luke 1:46–55, 68–79), with three on Sunday because of the cathedral vigil.[90] Ode 1 was reserved for the Sunday cathedral vigil. The rest ran through the week, Monday to Sunday, as below in Schema II, Stratum 1.

The present nine-ode daily canon—except in the season of the triodion which, following Baumstark's famous law, "Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit,"[91] that is, the law of the liturgical conservatism of high seasons, retains an older structure—is the result of the Sunday agrypnia, keystone of the Sabaitic week. We can see this growth already under way in one of our two Georgian documents of the Studite period, the ninth-century codex Leningrad 11 described by K. S. Kekelidze under its old pressmark Tiflis H 2123.[92] Only the feast of St. Basil on January 1, and Theophany on January 6, have all nine odes at orthros. Lesser feasts have one, two, or three odes, though not in the order of Mateos' reconstruction. Here is a sampling:

Feast	*Odes*
St. Stephen (Dec. 27)	1, 9
St. Abo (Jan. 7) & octave	8, 9
St. Anthony (Jan. 17)	1
Holy Fathers (Jan. 28)	1

Especially interesting are the Lenten and Holy Week rubrics, which I give complete, in the sequence in which they appear:

6th Sat. Lent	1
7th Mon. Lent	1, 8–9
7th Tues. Lent	2, 8–9
7th Wed. Lent	3, 8–9
7th Thurs. Lent	4, 8–9
Good Fri.	5, 8–9
Holy Sat.	4, 7, 9
Thomas Sun.	1

Though not found in the ordering of Mateos' reconstruction, the odes in this source indicate that he was on the right track: here not only two but three odes, one variable, two fixed, were destined for daily orthros, and all nine for Sunday. For in this second stratum of development, Sunday orthros is integrated into the neo-Sabaitic agrypnia with the entire psalter plus all nine odes, and the original Sunday three-ode system is extended to the rest of the week, beginning with Monday, as in Schema II, Stratum 2.

Schema II: DEVELOPMENT OF THE NINE-ODE CANON OF ORTHROS

	Stratum 1 (hypothetical)	*Stratum 2 (9th c. Leningrad 11)*	*Present usage*
Day	*Odes*	*Odes*	*Odes*
Sun.	1, 8–9	1–9	1–9
Mon.	2, 9	1, 8–9	1–9
Tues.	3, 9	2, 8–9	1–9
Wed.	4, 9	3, 8–9	1–9
Thurs.	5, 9	4, 8–9	1–9
Fri.	6, 9	5, 8–9	1–9
Sat.	7, 9	6, 8–9	1–9
Monastic agrypnia: 1–9			

Both this second stratum and the origins of the daily nine-ode canon in the agrypnia *pensum* are confirmed by the fact that Psalm 50, traditional invitatory psalm of cathedral matins, which now precedes the entire canon, is found at Easter in the older typika of Stoudios and the Great Laura, and in some other pre-neo-Sabaitic sources, only after the first six odes.[93] This shows that orthros itself had only three odes; the first six were seen as part of the vigil *pensum*.

But why bother with such speculations and hypothetical reconstructions in the first place? Why not just accept this presumed "second" stratum as the original triodion? Because ode 1 is the paschal canticle of Moses, *Cantemus Domino* of Exodus 15:1–20, which, along with ode 8, the *Benedicite* of Daniel 3:57–88, are classic Sunday canticles right across the traditions. So Mateos' hypothesis that originally they could not have been anywhere but Sunday is by no means presumptuous.[94]

At any rate it does seem that the entire nine-ode canon was not meant originally for daily use, and appears daily only in the neo-Sabaitic reform. Its very name betrays its origins in the vigil: when Cyril of Scythopolis' *Vita* of St. Sabas refers to the night canon,[95] or *Vita B*, 71, of Athanasius the Athonite to the "canon of orthros" (τοῦ ὀρθρινοῦ

[90] "Quelques problèmes de l'orthros," 51–52; "La psalmodie variable," 337–38. On the origins of this "cathedral vigil" and its integration into later eastern offices, see Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*, "Sunday resurrection vigil" in the index, 421; for its place in Byzantine Sunday orthros, ibid., Schema 2, 280–81 (right column), and 288–89.

[91] Article with this title, *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 7 (1927), 1–23; Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 27–30.

[92] *Liturgičeskie gruzinskie pamjatniki*, 350–72.

[93] Mateos, "La psalmodie variable," 338; Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines," *OCP* 38 (1972), 70 note 1.

[94] "Quelques problèmes de l'orthros," 51–52.

[95] *Vita*, 18, 28, 32, 43, ed. Schwartz, 102:7, 26; 115:9, 16; 117:21; 133:20.

κανόνος),[92] they do not mean "canon" in the present, technical sense of the nine odes, but simply the vigil psalmody *pensum* or, by hendiadys, the vigil *tout court*, as in the Russian adverb *nakanune*.[93]

The Psalter[94]

Neo-Sabaitic developments are also clearly reflected in the evolution of the *pensum* of psalmody. I have already noted that the Byzantine monastic psalter is divided into twenty *kathismata* of (ideally) nine psalms each, grouped into three *staseis* of (again, ideally) three psalms apiece. This psalter was used in all the Byzantine monastic traditions that I have been discussing—Sabaitic, Studite, neo-Sabaitic—except for that of the *akoimetoi* or "sleepless monks" of the capital. But not all these monastic usages employed the psalter in the same way. The *pensum* of psalmody at Stoudios, Evergetis, and other monasteries of Constantinople before the Fourth Crusade, as well as at the Great Laura of St. Athanasius on Mount Athos, was distributed in a way different from our current, neo-Sabaitic usage. In summer the psalter was spread over three weeks, with only one *kathisma* at nocturns during these short nights. Vespers had a *kathisma* on Saturday. But only in winter, with two *kathismata* at nocturns and one at vespers, was the psalter got through in one week. During Lent the *pensum* was increased to completing the whole psalter twice a week, as today. Since we see this distribution in Southern Italy, which never adopted the neo-Sabaitic reform, it must represent general Studite usage anterior to the neo-Sabaitic revival.

What the neo-Sabaitic reform did was (1) suppress the older, mitigated summer *pensum* by moving the winter weekly psalter into the summer period; and (2) create a new winter system of three *kathismata* at nocturns by adding the former vesperal *kathisma* to the two traditional *kathismata* of nocturns, and chanting *kathisma* 18 at vespers daily, as today. We see the beginnings of this shift already in the typikon of Nikon of the Black Mountain in his *Taktikon*, I, 21, where the summer and Lenten *pensum*, to which he attributes hagiopolite provenance, already have the neo-Sabaitic system, whereas the winter *pensum*, called the usage of Stoudios and Athos, adds only an extra lection to the summer stichology.

Both here and in the canon, we see the same dynamic at work: the *pensum* is made more burdensome by the simple device of eliminating its lightest phase, shifting into that slot the next lightest burden, and adding a heavier burden in the vacuum created by that shift. Such slight turns of the dial will appear banal or insignificant only to the unschooled eye. Recall what Baumstark once said: "Die Entwicklung der Liturgie nur aus Sonderentwicklungen entsteht";[95] the evolution of the liturgy is only a series of individual developments, just as a necklace is no more than a string of individual beads.

The neo-Sabaitic Usage on Mount Athos

For reasons not altogether clear, this new Palestinian monastic liturgy soon becomes popular elsewhere. Early in the twelfth century, by the time of the essentially Studite Typikon of Evergetis,[96] we already see a large infiltration of second-generation Sabaitic material into the monasteries of Constantinople.[97] The authors of several other twelfth-century typika borrow heavily from the Evergetis code, and the Typikon of St. Sabas for the Serbian Monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos, which dates from ca. 1199, is little more than a Serbian translation of it, as John Thomas has pointed out.[98] Later Athonite typika, from the fifteenth century on, are all of neo-Sabaitic provenance.[99] From Athos the new usage spread everywhere but Southern Italy in the train of Athonite hesychasm.[100]

[92] Ed. Noret, 206:38. Cf. also Longo, "Il testo integrale della *Narrazione degli abati Giovanni e Sofronio*," 232 and 251:10.

[93] On the meaning of "canon" see Leroy, "Les Petites Catéchèses" (above, note 33), 354 note 116, and the references given there.

[94] See Mateos, "La psalmodie variable."

[95] I recall this from my reading of Baumstark's work but have been unable to retrace the source.

[96] Ed. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 256–656. This huge liturgical codex is not in the new edition of G. Gautier, "Le Typicon de la Théotokos Evergétis," *REB* 40 (1982), 5–101. On this monastery see Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, I. iii, 178–84.

[97] Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines," *OCP* 38 (1972), 91 note 1; idem, "N. D. Uspensky: The Office of the All-Night Vigil," 181–83.

[98] "The *Evergetis* Monastery at Constantinople as a Center of Ecclesiastical Reform," Eleventh Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, *Abstracts of Papers* (1985), 18.

[99] Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 67; "Les prières sacerdotales des vêpres byzantines," 123; "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines," *OCP* 38 (1972), 86 note 1; "Les prières presbytérales de la 'Pannychis'," *OCP* 40 (1974), 351–52, cf. 342; "L'office de l'Asmatikos Hesperinos," 113 and note 20. Earlier Athonite typika, as Arranz shows in these references, followed Studite usage. Numerous neo-Sabaitic typika are edited in Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, III. On these documents see also Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, Part II.

[100] On S. Italy see Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines," *OCP* 38 (1972), 91 note 2; *Typicon*, xxvi.

Philotheos Kokkinos and the Hesychast Ascendancy

Except for the Iberian connection, it is only with the hesychast ascendancy in the fourteenth century that Mount Athos will occupy center stage in Byzantine liturgical history. In the history of Byzantine monasticism, Athos represents the victory of hesychasm over the more rigorously cenobitic organization of the Studites.

Modern studies emphasize not only the doctrinal and spiritual aspects of hesychasm. They have also set in relief its impact as an ecclesiastical sociopolitical movement.[101] Vindicated by the synods of 1347 and 1351, which made their doctrine obligatory, the hesychasts saw themselves as winners in a long struggle for hegemony and sought to place their followers in important positions in the Orthodox hierarchy. Hesychast candidates controlled the patriarchal throne of Constantinople throughout the rest of the century. The most celebrated of these was Philotheos Kokkinos (d. 1379), twice patriarch (1353–55, 1364–76), and an intimate friend, disciple, and biographer of Gregory Palamas (1300–1379).[102] Born in Thessaloniki around 1300, Philotheos received his monastic initiation at St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, transferring later to the Great Laura on Mount Athos, where he was hegumen before becoming bishop of Heraclea in 1347. On his second accession to the patriarchal throne Philotheos' panorthodox hesychast policy inaugurated a period of intense relations between the Phanar and the local Orthodox Churches beyond the Greek-speaking world.

Philotheos' Diataxis tēs Hierodiakonias

Athos owes to Philotheos its influence not only in the imposition of the neo-Sabaitic typikon throughout Orthodoxy, but also in the canonization of Athonite rubrics for the eucharist and vespers. For it was during his abbacy at the Great Laura that Philotheos composed his Διάταξις τῆς ἱεροδιακονίας.[103] Though little known today, this ceremonial had a permanent influence on the present ordo of the Byzantine Divine Office. Miguel Arranz, who knows Byzantine office manuscripts better than anyone dead or alive, has grouped the office euchologies into several manuscript families that can be reduced basically to four, which reflect the history that I have been describing:[104]

1. Early (eighth to twelfth century) euchologies like Barberini 336, Leningrad 226, Sevastianov 474, Grottaferrata Gb I, Paris Coislin 213, and the oldest Sinai manuscripts, all of which give the unadulterated cathedral *asmatikē akolouthia* of Constantinople. The zenith of this patriarchal rite of the Great Church is reached in the eleventh/twelfth-century codex Grottaferrata Gb I, only to be brusquely interrupted by the Fourth Crusade and never resumed. From iconoclasm until 1204, the period of the popularization of Sabaitic usages by the Studites, this rite coexists at Constantinople with those in the next two categories. The first sign of these Studite incursions is observable in vespers of the tenth-century euchology Grottaferrata Gb VII (fols. 137–144).
2. Later, Constantinopolitan-type offices, which already betray in the suppression of certain prayers the effects of outside influences. Manuscripts of this type stretch from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries.
3. In the same period we also find Studite euchologies like Patmos 105 that present a full-blown synthesis of Palestinian monastic usages with the Constantinopolitan euchology. No two of these manuscripts are alike. This synthesis is found in several Athonite manuscripts, such as the fourteenth-century Lavra B 7 and Vatopedi 113 before the Philothean reform.
4. In the final, neo-Sabaitic stage, seen in sources from the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries, manuscripts juxtapose the two traditions, giving the Constantinopolitan prayers in one block at the start, but distributing the litanies and ekphoneseis throughout the rest of the office, which is the unadulterated *akolouthia* of the Palestinian horologion.

It is this neo-Sabaitic usage, the triumph of hesychast spirituality over the urban Studite variety, that will replace all others after the Byzantines re-

[101] A. A. Tachiaos, "Le mouvement hésychaste pendant les dernières décennies du XIVe siècle," *Kleronomia* 6 (1974), 113–30. For the effects of the hesychast victory and Philotheos' policies in Kievan Rus' and Muscovy, see J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1981), chaps. 5–8 and app. 2, esp. chap. 8; also D. Obolensky, "A *philorhomaios anthropos*: Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev and All Russia (1375–1406)," *DOP* 32 (1978), 83 ff.

[102] On Philotheos, whose works deserve more attention than they have received, see V. Laurent, "Philothée Kokkinos," *DTC* 12.2, cols. 1498–1509.

[103] Ed. J. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον *sive Rituale Graecorum*, 2nd ed. (Venice, 1730), 1–8 = PG 154, cols. 745–66.

[104] "L'office de l'Asmatikos Hesperinos," 109–16.

turn to Constantinople in the restoration of 1261. It also represents the hagiorite solution, codified by Philotheos, and found in most Athonite manuscripts from the fifteenth century on, the sources on which the first, Venetian editions of Byzantine liturgical books were based.[105] This, basically, is the usage still in force today. The fact that there are very few Italo-Greek manuscripts of this type shows that the Athonite Philothean usages for the office, as for the eucharist, reached the Byzantine liturgical hinterlands beyond Greece and Constantinople only gradually. Indeed, in Southern Italy Studite usage held its own until 1587 when the new Typikon of St. Sabas was adopted at St. Savior in Messina by order of the pope.[106] And Slavonic manuscripts reflect these developments with one or two centuries delay.

Mount Athos and the Byzantine Divine Liturgy

Philotheos' Diataxis tēs Theias Leitourgias

Another, more famous ceremonial from Philotheos' pen while abbot of the Great Lavra is his Διάταξις τῆς θείας Λειτουργίας, of which we have numerous extant manuscripts. One of them, Panteleimon 770, edited by P. Trempelas,[107] is practically contemporary with the work's composition, copied before Philotheos became patriarch of Constantinople in 1353, as the title itself informs us: "Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy, in which are also the diakonika, composed by His Holiness my Lord of Heraclea Kyr Philotheos, who was named hegumen in the holy and pious and virtuous monastery of the Laura of Athanasius the Great on Athos, where he composed this."

The definitive history of Byzantine rubrics remains to be written, but from what we know, the early Constantinopolitan-type euchologies, almost totally rubric-free, were little more than a list of prayers, sometimes numbered.[108] Where they were to be inserted into the course of the service was indicated at most by a rudimentary title. Whatever else the presbyter or bishop was supposed to do during the celebration, and the diakonika of the deacon,[109] were left to oral tradition and praxis. This is why the argument from silence in liturgical manuscripts is worth even less than it is elsewhere.

But by the tenth century we begin to get our first evidence of a codification of rubrics among the Byzantines. In manuscripts from Magna Graecia, rubrical directions begin to be incorporated into the liturgical text itself, along with the text of the diakonika. In Constantinople, however, the old, rubricless euchology text continues to be copied right up until the advent of printing, though with the insertion of diakonika, while the rubrical tradition develops independently, codified in a separate manual, the diataxis. André Jacob has identified the first extant Constantinopolitan diataxis rubrics in the material that Leo Tuscan inserted into his twelfth-century Latin translation of the Chrysostom liturgy.[110]

From that time until Philotheos, I know of six other complete diataxeis, one an archieratikon detailing the eleventh-century ceremonial of the patriarchal rite of the Great Church, which I have edited from the twelfth/thirteenth-century codex British Library Add. 34060;[111] and five others, all of them monastic: Athens Ethn. Bibl. 662 (12th–13th c.);[112] Moscow Synod 275 (381) (A.D. 1289–1311);[113] Vatican gr. 782, fols. 215r–219r; the roll Esphigmenou 34 (A.D. 1306);[114] and a codex in the private library of A. A. Dmitrievskij.[115] The unedited Vatican gr. 782[116] and the Dmitrievskij codex are apparently Palestinian monastic manuscripts; the others, probably from Athos and its environs, are predecessors to that of Philotheos.

One need not look far for the reason behind this new development. From the twelfth century the

[105] Ibid., 113 ff; idem, "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines," *OCP* 38 (1972), 79–80, 84. On the Venetian editions, see A. Raes, "Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés à Venise," *Mélanges E. Tisserant*, III, ST 233 (Vatican City, 1964), 209–22; N. B. Tomadakis, Ἡ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔκδοσις ἑλληνικῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων (κυρίως λειτουργικῶν) γενομένη ἐπιμελείᾳ Ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων κληρικῶν κατὰ τοὺς ιε-ιζ αἰῶνας, Ἐπ. Ἑτ. Βυζ. Σπ. 37 (1969–70), 3–33, rpt. in *La Chiesa Greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo*, Atti del Convegno Storico Interecclesiale, II (Bari, 30 aprile–4 maggio 1969), Italia sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica 21 (Padua, 1972), 685–721.

[106] See above, note 100.

[107] P. Trempelas, Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie 15 (Athens, 1912), 1–16.

[108] On this question see Taft, *Great Entrance*, xxxii–xxxiii.

[109] There were also separate diakonika collections (ibid., xxxii note 44).

[110] A. Jacob, "La concélébration de l'anaphore à Byzance d'après le témoignage de Léon Toscan," *OCP* 35 (1969), 249–56, esp. 252–53; cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, xxxv, 124–27.

[111] R. Taft, "The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church according to a Twelfth-Century Diataxis in Codex *British Museum Add. 34060*," *OCP* 45 (1979), 279–307, 46 (1980), 89–124.

[112] Ed. Trempelas, loc. cit. (above, note 107).

[113] Ed. N. F. Krasnosel'cev, *Materialy dlja istorii činoposledovanija Liturgii sv. Ioanna Zlatoustago* (Kazan, 1889), 18–29.

[114] Ed. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, II, 262–69.

[115] Ibid., III, 117–21.

[116] Jacob, *Histoire du formulaire*, 439 note 6.

prothesis rite or preparation of the gifts before the Divine Liturgy grows apace,[117] and we have evidence that the proliferation of variant local usages was causing confusion among the lower clergy. Around 1120 an Orthodox parish priest, probably of Crete, wrote to Metropolitan Elias II of Crete, in residence at Constantinople, exposing his scruples about this matter.[118] The attention that monastic diataxeis give to the prothesis shows that they were aimed at putting an end to this anarchy.[119] As hegumen of the Great Laura, Philotheos could not be indifferent to this problem.

But his manual regulating the customs for his community might have remained just one among others were it not for his subsequent advancement. Upon his accession to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople in 1353, his *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy* gained great prestige. It spread throughout the Greek Orthodox world, and was translated into Slavonic by Philotheos' contemporary, the Bulgarian hagiorite St. Euthymius of Trnovo, later Bulgarian patriarch from 1375–93.[120] Around 1380 Demetrios Gemistos, deacon, notary under Philotheos and later protonotary of the Great Church, used the Philothean rubrics in his archieratikon regulating the ceremonial of the patriarchal rite of Hagia Sophia.[121] Another influence of Philotheos' diataxis on the present form of the Divine Liturgy, especially in monasteries, and among the Russians and Romanians, was the substitution of the typika (Pss 102, 145, and the Beatitudes) for the traditional antiphons,[122] a Palestinian usage first seen in the early Georgian text of the Chrysostom liturgy.[123] This usage was picked up with the introduction of neo-Sabaitic uses into the Studite monasteries of the capital, as witness the Typikon of Evergetis[124] which, as we have seen, had considerable influence on Athos.

The numerous manuscripts of Philotheos' diataxis (Athens Ethn. Bibl. 751, 752, 765, 766, 770, 771, 773, 779, etc.) in both Greek and Slavonic, and the varying redactions they reveal, show, however, that all evolution did not stop with his standardization of the Byzantine rubrics of the mass.[125] Like any living text—the commentary of Germanos is a perfect parallel[126]—the rubrics were adjusted to suit new developments and local peculiarities. In the course of the fifteenth century, though other diataxeis and usages continued to exist in competition with the Philothean handbook,[127] the latter gradually spread its influence throughout the patriarchate of Constantinople, and its rubrics were incorporated into Demetrios Doukas' *editio princeps* of the liturgies in 1526 (Rome).[128] Except

[117] Cf. O. Bârlea, "La proscomidie: L'offrande dans le rite byzantin. Son écho sur la communion," Societas Academica Dacoromana, *Acta philosophica et theologica* 2 (Rome, 1964), 26–28.

[118] V. Laurent, "Le rituel de la proscomidie et le métropolite de Crète Elie," *REB* 16 (1958), 116–42. On the development of the prothesis the most recent study is G. Descoeudres, *Die Pastophorien im syro-byzantinischen Osten: Eine Untersuchung zu architektur- und liturgiegeschichtlichen Problemen*, Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa 16 (Wiesbaden, 1983), 79–126.

[119] The prothesis rite occupies a disproportionately large part of the diataxeis—almost a third in Athens Ethn. Bibl. 662 and Philotheos, for instance: Trempelas, *Hai treis Leitourgiai*, 1–5. Of the twenty-five diataxeis known to me, several deal with the prothesis almost exclusively: Barberini gr. 316 (12th c.); Moscow Synod 321 (428) (14th c.), ed. S. Muretov, *K materialam dlja istorii činoposledovanija liturgii* (Sergeev Posad, 1895), 17–24; Sinai gr. 986 (15th c.), 987 (16th c.), ed. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, II, 602–6, 708–9; Panteleimon 5924 (19th c.), ed. Krasnosel'cev, *Materialy*, 6–16; and the diataxis in an 11th-c. letter of the patriarch of Constantinople to Bishop Paul of Gallipoli, ed. I. Cozza-Luzi, "Excerpta e Typico Casulano," A. Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, X.2 (Rome, 1905), 167–71. Some later mss. simply insert a Philothean diataxis of the prothesis before the beginning of the liturgy: Esphigmenou 162 (A.D. 1545), ed. P. Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig v Bolgarii v XVI veke*, Tom I, Vypuski 1–2 (St. Petersburg, 1889–90), I.2: *Teksty*, 149–54; Sinai gr. 986 (15th c.); Istanbul Metochion Panagiou Taphou 425 (16th c.); and Esphigmenou 120 (A.D. 1502), ed. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, II, 602–6, 817–22, 954–58.

[120] Ed. E. Kałužniacki, *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius (1375–1393)* (Vienna, 1901), 283–306; and Syrku, *K istorii*, I.2, 1–31. There is another Slavonic version by Kiprian, also a Bulgarian hagiorite and disciple of Philotheos, who ordained him metropolitan of Kiev at Constantinople in 1375. Cf. Syrku, *K istorii*, I.1, 252 ff; I. D. Mansvetov, *Mitropolit Kiprian v ego liturgičeskoj dejatel'nosti: Istoriko-liturgičeskoe izsledovanie* (Moscow, 1882); also in *Pribavlenija k izdaniju tvorenij svjatych otcev v russkom perevode* 29 (1882), 152–205, 413–95. On the role of these Bulgarian hagiorites in Rus', see Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 129 ff, 197 ff, and chaps. 9–10; Obolensky, "A *philorhomaios anthropos*," 78–98; I. Talev, *Some Problems of the Second South Slavic Influence in Russia*, Slavistische Beiträge 67 (Munich, 1973); also studies on Athos and the Slavs in *Le millénaire*, I–II (above, note 1).

[121] Ed. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, II, 301–19; for other editions see Taft, *Great Entrance*, xxxvii–xxxviii.

[122] J. Mateos, *La célébration de la Parole dans la liturgie byzantine: Étude historique*, OCA 191 (Rome, 1971), 68–71.

[123] Jacob, "Une version géorgienne," 90–92, nos. 4, 5, 6.

[124] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 512, 515, 603, and passim.

[125] Laurent, "Philothée Kokkinos," col. 1507; further mss. in Krasnosel'cev, *Materialy*, 36–78; Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, II, passim; several unedited Sinai codices; etc.

[126] See R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VIIe au XVe siècle*, AOC 9 (Paris, 1966), 128–68.

[127] E.g., Vatican gr. 573 (14th–15th c.) and Sabas gr. 305, ed. Krasnosel'cev, *Materialy*, 80–114; Paris gr. 2509 (15th c.), ed. Goar, *Euchologion*, 78–83; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 540 (A.D. 1416); and the mss. cited above, note 119.

[128] On this edition see E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des grecs au XVe et XVIe siècles*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1885–1906), I, 192–95, no. 76; A. Strittmatter, "Notes on the Byzantine Synapte," *Trad* 10 (1954), 75–76.

for a later reduction in the number of saints commemorated at the prothesis, a reworking of the peculiar Philothean redaction of the litany and prayers of the faithful, and a few other differences, it is these Philothean rubrics that still govern the celebration of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy today.

In general the monastic diataxeis opted for Constantinopolitan monastic usage in regulating the ritual, and local customs die out after this period except in Southern Italy, where the Italo-Greek *editio princeps* of 1601, printed in Rome for the use of Italo-Greek monks, still preserves at the prothesis a local Calabrian rite far simpler than that of Constantinople.[129] But by this time Philotheos' diataxis has spread the latter usage almost everywhere, even to the editions published in Venice from the sixteenth century on.[130]

With the ultimate victory of the Philothean usage, the history of the Greek redaction of the Byzantine liturgical books ceases to be of much interest, and the center of attention shifts to Romania and especially the Slavic lands, as Athonite hesychasm spreads north.[131]

[129] Jacob, *Histoire du formulaire*, 466; E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique . . . au dix-septième siècle*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1894–1903), I, 1–2, no. 1.

[130] See above, note 105.

[131] For the Slavic lands see the references above, note 120; for Romania see A. Scrima, "Les roumains et le Mont Athos," *Le millénaire* (above, note 1), II, 147.

Conclusion

After all that, one can perhaps understand why the accusations of immobility commonly brought against eastern rites provoke only amusement among oriental liturgiologists. Closer to the mark is what Abbot Nicholas Egender has said: ". . . no rite of our Christian Churches has known such dynamism and so many changes as the Byzantine. The Roman Rite through all its history, even after the reform of Vatican II, has remained a rite singularly archaic in its structure and theology. The Byzantine Rite, on the contrary, has undergone multiple influences of place, persons, theological currents."[132]

In this process the liturgy of Mount Athos is derivative and largely unoriginal. In the formation of the Byzantine liturgical tradition, hagiorites were more curators than artists, more consolidators than innovators, not so much creators as borrowers, synthesizers, propagators. Their chief merit was to canonize and popularize the Byzantine monastic hours and eucharist in its (more or less) final form. They did their job well, for its results are still with us today.

[132] "Introduction" (above, note 23), 88–89.

V

IN THE BRIDEGROOM'S ABSENCE. THE PASCHAL TRIDUUM IN THE BYZANTINE CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

Originally the only « liturgy » of the Paschal Triduum, if we exclude the Easter Vigil itself (as I intend to do here), was fasting [1], « the fast in the bridegroom's absence », Tertullian calls it [2], referring to Mt 9:14-15, Mk 2:18-20, and Lk 1:33-39. So the primitive Triduum was a time of sober readiness: there is no wine (Is 24:15; cfr. Jn 2:3) until it is drunk again in the Messianic Banquet of the Kingdom (Is 25:6; Lk 22:18), when the Bridegroom comes, at night (1 Thess 5:2-6; 2 Thess 2:1; Rev 3:3, 16:15), for the wedding feast of the Spouse (Mt 25:1-13; Rev 3:20-21, 19:9). It was a time not of liturgical pomp but of expectant meditation, while the body of the Lord reposes in the tomb, the final Sabbath rest before the fulfillment [3], the dawn of the eschatological « Eighth Day » that inaugurates the new time beyond all cycles of time [4].

To anyone familiar with the ceremonial splendor of Byzantine Paschal Triduum services, the contrast with this pristine sobriety could not be more striking. Such developments are the

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* For list of abbreviations, see pp. 96-97.

[1] Cfr. Eusebius, *Church History* V, 24:12, ed. E. Schwartz, GCS 9.1 = *Eusebius* 2.1 (Leipzig 1903) 494; Dionysius of Alexandria (ca. 260), *Ep. ad Basilidem* 1, ed. C.L. Feltoe, *The Letters and Other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria* (Cambridge 1904) 94-102; *Didaskalia* (3rd c.) V. 18-19 (21), ed. F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum* (Paderborn 1905) I, 288-292; R.H. Connolly, *Didascalia apostolorum* (Oxford 1929) 189-191.

[2] *De ieiunio* (*post* 217) 2.2, CCL 2, 1258. Cfr. *Didaskalia* V, 12:6 (21), ed. Funk I, 268, Connolly 180.

[3] On the final Sabbath theme, see W. Rordorf, *Sunday* (Philadephia 1968) 88-100, 108-118, 282-283. A later Byzantine witness is Constantinopolitan Patriarch St. Germanos II (1222-1240), *Oratio in dominici corporis sepulturam*, PG 98, 244-289 (see below at note 55).

[4] On the eighth day theme, see Rordorf, *Sunday* 48-51, 88-100, 275-285.

stuff of liturgical history. By the fourth century in some churches the Triduum opens with a Passion Vigil Holy Thursday night, in addition to the Easter Vigil [5]. By the time of Egeria (384), the Jerusalem Triduum already has a full-blown system of stational services following the sequence of the events of Jesus' Passion [6]. And there, in Jerusalem, lies the key to much of the present-day Byzantine Rite, and to its Holy Week Triduum ceremonies.

FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO JERUSALEM AND BACK: THE FORMATION OF THE BYZANTINE PASCHAL TRIDUUM

That the liturgical usages of the Holy City spread throughout Christendom with the pilgrim trade, is a truism of liturgical history. That the Church of Constantinople became predominant throughout the eastern empire, and that its rite influenced those of lesser sees, including Jerusalem, is equally well-known. This mutual exchange became especially intense after the first period of Iconoclasm (726-775, 815-843), during the monastic restoration under the leadership of St. Theodore of Stoudios († 826), who summoned to the capital some Palestinian monks of the Monastery of St. Sabas to help in the struggle against the heretics [7]. But the evolution of the Byzantine hours did not stop with the Constantinopolitan-Sabaitic liturgical synthesis formed in this Studite phase. For this Studite usage then spread throughout the Byzantine monastic world, including Palestine, where it was subjected to further hagiopolite monastic developments [8].

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[5] EUSEBIUS, *Church History* II, 17:21-22, GCS 9.1 = *Eusebius* 2.1, 152; EPIPHANIUS (ca. 377), *De fide* 22:12-14, ed. K. Holl, GCS 37 = *Epiphanius* 3 (Leipzig 1933) 523-524.

[6] *Diary* 30-38, EGERIE, *Journal de voyage* (*Itinéraire*), ed. P. Maraval, SC 296 (Paris 1982) 270-291. Further references to Egeria will be given in parentheses in the body of the article.

[7] Basic for the relationship between these two liturgical centers is A. BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler des Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus*, OC ser. 3, 2 (1927) 1-32; ID., *Die Heiligtümer des byzantinischen Jerusalems nach einer übersehenen Urkunde*, OC 5 (1905) 227-289; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Tipikony*.

[8] See my study, *Mt. Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite*, DOP 42 (1988) 179-194.

It is not surprising, then, that around the turn of the millennium our Holy Week documentation reveals a fascinating symbiosis: as the rite of Constantinople is being monasticized via Palestine, the rite of Palestine is being further byzantinized. The ultimate result of this evolution is the hybrid neo-Sabaitic synthesis we know as the « Byzantine Rite ». Its Holy Week Triduum services illustrate this interchange in every phase of their history.

Janeras has traced this evolution through the structure, lections, and poetry in the developing books of the two source-traditions [9]. The key documents are, 1) for Jerusalem, the Armenian [10] (5th c.) and Georgian (5-8th c.) [11] hagiopolite lectionaries, and the Holy Week services in codex *Stavrou 43*, copied in 1122 AD but reflecting layers of liturgical material from over a century earlier, certainly before the destruction of the Holy Places by the Caliph al-Hakim in 1009 [12]; 2) for Constantinople, the Typikon of the Great Church in mss of the ninth-tenth centuries [13], the Evangeliary [14], and the Prophetologion or lectionary of OT lessons [15].

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[9] JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*. I am grateful to Dr. Janeras for providing me with a copy of this superb study while it was still in press. See also his *Vespres* and *Vangeli*. I depend largely on Janeras for what I say below about the Good Friday offices.

[10] Ed. RENOUX, PO 36.

[11] Ed. TARCHNIŠVILI.

[12] Ed. PK 1-254. On this much-studied ms, see BAUMSTARK, *Die Heiligtümer* (note 7 above), and G. BERTONIERE, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church* (OCA 193, Rome 1972) 12-18. Corrections to the PK edition are given in DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Tipikony* 11-60. Dmitrievskij's earlier edition of this ms, with facing Russian translation, based on an 1804 copy (see Bertoniere 12 note 25), is given in his *Bogosluženie strastnoj i paschalnoj sedmic vo sv. Ierusalime IX-X v.* (Kazan 1894). The Holy Week services have been studied in THIBAUT. Older studies on Good Friday in this ms have been superceded by those of Janeras cited above in note 9.

[13] Ed. MATEOS, *Typicon*.

[14] Cfr. C.R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1900, 1902, 1909); JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint* 109-113; ID., *Vangeli* 66-68, with the references J. gives there in note 44.

[15] Ed. C. HOEG, G. ZUNTZ, *Prophetologium* (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Lectionaria, vol. I, part 1, fasc. 1-6, Copenhagen 1937-1970); *ibidem* vol. II, part 2, ed. G. ENGBERG (Copenhagen 1980-1981). Vol. I, fasc. 4 (1960)

These sources seem to show in the Paschal Triduum a three-step process of mutual borrowing. 1) The overriding importance of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage center, especially at Easter time because of its highly developed and immensely popular Holy Week services, leads to the infiltration of hagiopolite elements into the Triduum rites of Constantinople. This is observable already in Constantinopolitan lectionary mss of the ninth century, which have for Good Friday Orthros (Matins) a series of eleven Gospel lections formed by combining the old Jerusalem vigil lections of Holy Thursday night with those of the hagiopolite Good Friday day hours [16]. 2) This composite lection series, along with the Constantinopolitan lections of Good Friday Vespers and Holy Saturday Orthros according to the Typikon of the Great Church, then find their way to Jerusalem and are incorporated into the corresponding hagiopolite services by the end of the millennium [17]: this is the situation we find in *Stavrou 43* before 1009 [18]. 3) Finally, it is this system — Jerusalem Good Friday Matins with a hybrid series of eleven hagiopolite-Constantinopolitan Gospel lections [19]; Jerusalem Good Friday Vespers and Holy Saturday Matins with Constantinopolitan readings [20]; plus the Jerusalem Good Friday day hours [21] repeating Gospel lections that the Constantinopolitan redactors, in phase two, had already incorporated into the composite list of eleven Gospels (later expanded to twelve) at Matins [22] — that is ultimately codified in the Byzantine Triodion or lenten-paschal service book, the earliest mss of which date to the tenth century.

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and 5 (1962) contain the Triduum lections. On this lectionary, see C. Hoeg, G. Zuntz, *Remarks on the Prophetologion*, in R.P. Casey, S. Lake, A.K. Lake (eds.), *Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to K. Lake*, (London 1937) 189-226; G. Zuntz, *Das byzantinische Septuaginta-Lektionar* (« *Prophetologion* »), « Classica et Mediaevalia » 17 (1956) 183-198.

[16] Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 109-113, 119-122; cfr. Mateos, *Typicon* II, 76-79; 79 note 1.

[17] Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 119-122.

[18] PK 116-179.

[19] Compare PK 116-146 with Mateos, *Typicon* II, 78-79.

[20] Compare PK 158-159 with Mateos, *Typicon* II, 80-81.

[21] PK 147-154.

[22] See note 16 above. On the 12th Gospel, see Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 123-124; Id., *Vangeli*, 66-68.

There is nothing surprising about this give-and-take; it is a perfect paradigm of how liturgies evolved in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, during the era of the formation of our present liturgical families or « rites ». Such a process, of course, inevitably results in some loose ends, as we shall see.

THE BYZANTINE TRIDUUM TODAY

1. *The Offices and their Lections* [23]

The result of this medieval mix, today's Triodion Triduum, begins Holy Thursday evening with the Service of the Passion (τὰ πάθη) or anticipated Good Friday Orthros (Matins), a three-hour marathon characterized by the chanting of twelve Gospel lections, comprising the entire Passion account in all four Gospels, including the Last Discourse of John. This proclamation is duplicated Good Friday during the « Great » or « Royal Hours » of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, celebrated usually only in monasteries, seminaries, and large churches. Each hour has a Prophecy, an Epistle, and a Passion Gospel.

But this is only a foretaste. In the early afternoon, Good Friday Vespers are celebrated, with three Old Testament readings, an Epistle, and a cento Gospel or composite Passion concordance harmonized from the relevant pericopes of Mt-Lk-Jn. At the end of Vespers there occurs the first « burial procession » of Jesus.

Holy Saturday Matins, with its long and beautiful poetry, follows the same evening. It, too, has a burial cortège and readings, including a Prophecy and Epistle, and the Gospel of the sealing and guarding the tomb.

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[23] Greek text in *Triodion katanyktikon*, 665-736; English trans. in *Lenten Triodion*, 565-655; French in D. Guillaume, *Triode de carême*, vol. 3 (Rome 1978) 182-353. For those not familiar with the ordinary structure of these Byzantine hours, an outline is given in Taft, *Hours*, 278-282, and in *La prière des heures. Horologion* (La prière des Eglises de rite byzantin 1, Chevetogne 1975).

2. *The Hymnody*

But it is only in the exquisite ecclesiastical poetry so characteristic of today's Byzantine-hagiopolite offices, especially in the Triodion, that one can get a true sense of these services. For an essential characteristic of the Byzantine Office is the major role of liturgical poetry in its proclamation of the liturgical anamnesis.

The hagiopolite hymnody of Good Friday Orthros, almost all of it found already in *Stavrou 43* [24], keeps pace with the readings as they move toward the climax of Calvary. Though the crucifixion is adumbrated as early as antiphons 5-6, the hymnody that precedes the account in Gospel 4 (Jn 18:29-19:16: Jesus before Pilate, where he is tried, condemned, and handed over to be crucified) concentrates on the earlier events, from the Last Supper the night before until this trial Good Friday morning [25]. Special attention is given to the betrayal of Judas, a theme that returns time and again. But from antiphon 10 the leitmotif shifts to Calvary, in accord with the crescendo of the readings [26].

The chants of Good Friday Vespers resume all the mysteries of the day, especially the crucifixion, and in the Aposticha refrains, move to the burial and « Harrowing of Hell»: [27]

> Down from the tree Joseph of Arimathea took you dead, you who are the life of all, and wrapped you, O Christ, with spices, in a linen cloth...
>
> O redeemer of all, when you were laid in a new tomb for the sake of us all, hell was brought to scorn and, seeing you, recoiled in fear. The bars were broken and the gates shattered, the tombs were opened and the dead arose. Then Adam, in thanksgiving and rejoicing, cried out to you, « Glory to your self-abasement, O one who loves humankind! ».

It is, of course, this burial theme which is dramatized in the procession at the end of Byzantine Vespers and seems, wrongly,

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[24] PK 116-147. See the table in JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 360.
[25] *Lenten Triodion*, 571-580.
[26] *Ibidem*, 582ff.
[27] Here and below I have modified the translation in *Lenten Triodion*.

to provide its leitmotif. I shall treat this mimesis in the next section.

Little Compline in the Slavonic books has retained after the Creed a Canon found also in Greek mss but not in the present Greek Triodion [28]. This « Canon of the Crucifixion of Our Lord and the Lamentation of the Most Holy Theotokos » is a poetic sequence on the theme of Mary's mourning over the dead body of her son. But here, as in Vespers, by the end of the service the note of the coming resurrection is already sounded:

> « Heal now the wound of my soul, my child », cried the holy Virgin, weeping. « Rise and still my pain and bitter anguish. For you have power, O Master, and can do what you will. Even your burial is voluntary ».
>
> « How is it that you have not seen the depths of my tender love? » said the Lord... « Because I wish to save my creation, I have accepted death. But I shall rise again, and as God shall magnify you in heaven and on earth! ».

Holy Saturday Matins, now anticipated Good Friday evening, is the most popular of the Passion services. It is basically a meditation on the « Sabbath of the Savior », the time in the tomb between death and resurrection, a time to reflect on the meaning of it all. This is the least « anamnetic » and most dogmatic of the present Byzantine services. Its chants place the entire mystery of salvation within the cosmic scheme of things. Indeed, the entire service is poetry. After the customary opening of Orthros, the Troparia that follow the Great Synapte set the tone:

> Going down to death, O life immortal, you have slain hell with the dazzling light of your divinity. And when you had raised up the dead from their dwelling place beneath the earth, all the powers of heaven cried out, « O giver of life, Christ our God, glory to you! ».
>
> The angel stood by the tomb, and to the women bearing spices he cried out, « Myrrh is for the dead, but Christ has shown himself a stranger to corruption! ».

During the chanting of these refrains the ministers exit from the sanctuary in solemn procession and proceed to the « tomb »

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[28] Greek text in J.B. PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense* IV (Paris 1858) 492-495; English trans. in *Lenten Triodion*, 617-621. Some Greek mss indicate another Threnos Canon for Good Friday Compline: see note 62 below.

or epitaphion, richly decorated with candles and flowers, in the center of the nave. The senior priest and deacon incense around the tomb and the whole church, then the concelebrating priests intone, in turn, the three *staseis* of the Enkomia, a long series of τροπάρια προσομοία — i.e. similar, in the same rhythm and melody — with which Ps 118 is farced [29]. The choir sings the psalm verses, three priests chant in turn the refrains of their assigned *stasis*. It is a poem of exquisite beauty, much beloved of the faithful, who listen to it with profound reverence.

The spirit of this poetry, radically different from that of Mary's Compline lament, is decidedly victorious. The method used is paradox. The one who is life, dies in order to slay death and raise the dead. He who is entombed, opens the tombs and raises the dead. Condemned as a transgressor, he frees all from guilt. The deliverer, he is sold into captivity. He who hung the earth upon the waters, hangs on a cross. The fairest of all becomes a corpse without comeliness, in order to beautify all nature. The light of the world, hidden in a dark tomb, illumines all things. He whom nothing can contain, who holds the earth in his hands, is buried in the bowels of the earth. Uplifted on the cross, he lifts up all. Descending into the earth, he raises all who are buried there. The cornerstone, he is enclosed in rock.

The metaphors and epithets are full of light and joy: sun of justice; morning star; lifegiving seed, sown in the earth with tears; New Adam; source of the river of life; light that knows no evening; giver of life; sweet springtime; bridegroom coming forth from his chamber; daystar without evening; vine of life.

The Enkomia are followed by the customary Eulogitaria of the Resurrection, the Troparia of the Myrrhbearers sung on Sundays with Ps 118:12 [30]. Their presence here testifies to the victorious, paschal character of the day:

> The radiant angel standing within the tomb cried out to the myrrh-bearing women, « Why do you lament and mingle tears with the spices, O women disciples? Look upon the tomb and rejoice, for the savior has risen from the grave! ».

[29] *Lenten Triodion*, 623-644.
[30] Cfr. TAFT, *Hours*, 280.

> Early in the morning the myrrh-bearing women hastened to your tomb, lamenting. But the angel stood by them and said, « The time of mourning is over! Do not cry, but announce the resurrection to the apostles! ».

The Canon [31], which follows Ps 50 immediately, provides a paradoxical meditation on Jesus' stay in « the happy tomb »:

> O Lord my God, I shall sing to you a funeral hymn, a song at your burial. For by your burial you have opened for me the gates of life, and by your death you have slain death and hell.
>
> You have stretched out your arms and united all that was separated before. Wrapped in a winding-sheet and buried in a tomb, O Savior, you have loosed the prisoners...
>
> Today you keep holy the seventh day, which of old you blessed by resting from your works. You bring all things into being and you make all things new, my Savior, observing the Sabbath rest and restoring your strength.
>
> Hell is king over mortals — but not forever. Laid in the sepulchre, mighty Lord, with your lifegiving hand you burst asunder the bars of death. To those from every age who slept in the tombs you proclaimed true deliverance, O Savior, you who have become the firstborn from among the dead.

After the Canon, the tomb is incensed. Then, during the Trisagion at the end of the *Gloria in excelsis*, the epitaphion and Gospel book are borne around the church — outside, where possible — and then returned to the tomb (Slavic usage) or placed on the altar (Greek usage), in imitation of Jesus' burial cortège. The lections, concluding litanies, and dismissal follow, after which, in Slavic usage, all come to venerate the tomb.

This mimetic ceremonial is the final question to which we must now turn. For, indeed, there are presently not one but three mimetic elements in the Byzantine Triduum services that we must account for. And the logic of their placement is not immediately apparent.

THE VIA CRUCIS AND BURIAL CORTÈGE PROCESSIONS

What is one to make of this duplication and seeming chronological incongruity? Why two burial cortèges, and where did they originate? At the present state of our knowledge, I am not

[31] Cfr. *ibidem*, 282-283.

sure there is a satisfactory answer to any of those questions. But let us take the services one at a time.

1. *Mimesis in Good Friday Orthros*

In *Stavrou 43* [32], after Gospel 11 (the final one) of Good Friday Orthros, the Johannine burial account (Jn 19:38-42), followed by Ps 91 (92), the Trisagion, and the Ektene, the patriarch and archdeacon, accompanied by the faithful, go to fetch the cross from the Reliquary Chapel Νικητήριος ἡ Ἀγγελική, « behind Golgotha », the ms tells us, which Janeras identifies with Egeria's «*post crucem*» [33]. The cross is laid upon the patriarch's shoulders, and the archdeacon wraps his orarion around the patriarch's neck and conducts him, bearing the cross, in procession to the Chapel of the Holy Custody (φυλακή) located on the other side of the atrium, to the chant of stichera on Judas' betrayal and Jesus being handed over to Pilate. As Pallas notes, this dramatic Via Crucis with the patriarch *in persona Christi* is reminiscent of Egeria's comment on the Palm Sunday procession: « episcopus in eo typo, quo Dominus deductus est » (*Diary* 31:3) [34].

Arrived at the chapel, they sing the Troparion, tone 1, found today in Good Friday Prime: [35] « By your crucifixion, O Christ, the tyranny of the enemy was destroyed... » This is followed by:

Prokeimenon tone 4: Ps 69(70):2 (*Rx.* verse 3a)
Zek 11:10-13
Prokeimenon tone plag. 1: Ps 11:18 (*Rx.* verse 2)
Ektene
Dismissal

This Jerusalem service concerns more the cross than the sepulchre. The old Jerusalem veneration of the cross Good Friday morning in Egeria, *Diary* 37:1-3, and in the Armenian lectionary [36], had fallen into disuse, either in the interval between the abduction of the true cross by the Persians during the sack

[32] PK 146-147.
[33] Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 286-287 note 24.
[34] Pallas 18.
[35] *Triodion katanyktikon*, 683.
[36] PO 36, 281.

of Jerusalem under Chosroes II in 614 and its return by Heraclius in 631; or, perhaps, after Heraclius removed the relic to Constantinople in 635, before Jerusalem fell to the Arabs [37].

At any rate, the service in *Stavrou 43* is not a burial rite mimesis, which, anyway, would be misplaced at Good Friday Matins. And although there was once an adoration of the cross in Hagia Sophia — Arculf describes it ca. 670 [38] — and in Italo-Greek documents [39], there is no trace of it in later, hybrid Constantinopolitan-hagiopolite sources [40]. Later Greek and Melkite usage, however, has introduced during antiphon 15 of Good Friday Orthros a procession with a large cross, accompanied by candles and incense, to the center of the nave, where it is enthroned and remains for veneration until Holy Saturday [41]. This practice entered Greek Orthodox usage officially only in 1864 [42]. But none of this is early, and none of it is Constantinopolitan, where the church building, not the cross, was washed [43], and where the lance (cf. Jn 19:34), not the cross, was venerated [44].

[37] See, however, Tarchnišvili, *Appendix* I, no. 114. On the peregrinations of the cross relic, see Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 284-286, 290; V.G. Grumel, *La reposition de la vraie croix à Jérusalem par Héraclius. Le jour et l'année*, « Byzantinische Forschungen », 1 (1966) 139-149; A. Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Archives de l'Orient chrétien 7, Paris 1965).
[38] *Adamnani de locis sanctis libri tres* III, 3:5-10, CCL 175, 228; cfr. Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 290.
[39] Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 292-296.
[40] *Ibidem*, 291-292.
[41] *Lenten Triodion*, 587.
[42] Cfr. Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 297.
[43] This is witnessed to ca. 1200 by the Russian pilgrim Anthony of Novgorod: *Kniga palomnik*, ed. Ch.M. Loparev, *Pravoslavnyj palestinskij sbornik* 51 (1899) 29; French trans. in Mme. B. De Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva 1889) 105. On the whole notion of « washing the church », see D.I. Pallas, Ἡ 'Θάλασσα' τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (Collection de l'Institut français d'Athènes 68, Athens 1952).
[44] Mateos, *Typicon* II, 72-73, 78-79; *De ceremoniis* I, 43 (34), ed. Vogt I, 168. Abundant later evidence on the veneration of the Constantinopolitan Passion relics in G.P. Majeska, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 19, Washington D.C. 1984), 2, 28-31, 34-37, 44-45, 132-133, 138-141, 160-161, 182-183, 186-191, 216-218, 343-344, 368-370, 378.

2. *Mimesis in Good Friday Vespers* [45]

There is nothing like today's burial processions in Egeria (*Diary* 37-38) or the Armenian lectionary [46], both of which have after Vespers a station at the Anastasis with the reading of Mt 27:57-61 on the burial of Jesus. By the time of the Georgian lectionary, however, this has been dramatized by a rite of the washing and perfuming of the cross with aromatic lotion, in imitation of the preparation of Jesus' body for burial [47]. The rite is accompanied by chants (*ibakoj*), some of them based on the burial motif.

But there is not a trace of this in the later hagiopolite rite as presented by *Stavrou 43* [48] and the Byzantine liturgical books, which, as Janeras remarks, « long resisted — some right up until our day — the inclusion of rubrics relating to the ceremony of the burial of Christ » [49].

3. *Mimesis in Holy Saturday Orthros*

So incongruous as it might seem, it is to Holy Saturday Orthros, not Good Friday Vespers, that we must turn to find our first traces of a burial cortège mimesis in Byzantine Triduum services.

Today, as we have already seen above (p. 78), Holy Saturday Orthros is characterized by the Enkomia. There is none of this poetry in the Armenian lectionary of Jerusalem [50], which indicates as proper to the service Ps 87 with the response, « They have laid me in a deep pit, in the darkness and in the shadow of death » (Ps 87:6), a responsory eminently suited to the day of Jesus' rest in the tomb. The Gospel is Mt 27:62-66, on Pilate's ordering the tomb sealed and guarded. The later Georgian lectionary [51], as well as the Typikon of the Great

[45] Cfr. Janeras, *Vespres*.
[46] PO 36, 295.
[47] Tarchnišvili no. 703, and Appendix I, nos. 162-167; cfr. Janeras, *Vespres*, 226-230.
[48] PK 156-161.
[49] Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 350.
[50] PO 36, 295.
[51] Tarchnišvili nos. 706-707; Appendix I, nos. 168-176.

Church [52], retain the same Gospel, but are equally bereft of poetry. *Stavrou 43* [53], like today's rite, has the Constantinopolitan lections. The Canon is also hagiopolite, most of it found in the latter ms. There are no Enkomia, however, only six Troparia with Ps 118. Where, then, does this Holy Saturday Orthros and its characteristic poetry and burial cortège come from?

A satisfactory answer to this question must await a definitive study of the history of Byzantine Holy Saturday offices. But some of the elements this response will comprise have already been identified. Both Pallas and Belting have adduced literary and iconographic evidence that points to a sharper emphasis on Jesus' burial and Mary's mourning in Triduum services from the twelfth century on [54], though they both infer more from the sources than I think is warranted.

An early, if embryonic indication of the new emphasis can be found in Patriarch St. Germanos II (1222-1240), *Oratio in dominici corporis sepulturam*, delivered at a Holy Saturday service, or so it would seem from the theme of Jesus' « Sabbath rest » in the tomb that runs through the entire homily [55]. Emotionally laden references to Jesus' burial (264), to Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea wrapping Jesus' body in the sindon (269A), to Mary's lamentations (269-272, 278), to the people filling the grave with their tears (276C) and exhorted to bathe the sindon with their tears mingled with myrrh and aloes (289A), and to imitate (μιμησώμεθα) Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus in clothing the naked body of Jesus and placing it in a new grave (288B), would all accord with a sermon preached at a ritual representation of Jesus' burial. But the exhortation to imitate Joseph and Nicodemus is immediately given a moral application (288D-289), and the rest could be simply biblical anamnesis. For the long homily gives no clear indication of mimetic ceremonial. And indeed, the concluding references

[52] Mateos, *Typicon* II, 82-85.
[53] PK 162-179.
[54] Pallas 38-66; Belting 5-12.
[55] PG 98, 244-289. References to the respective columns are given in parentheses in the body of the article. On the authenticity of the homily see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich 1959) 668.

(289B) to receiving Jesus on the God-bearing altar as if on the cross, in communion, would indicate that the homily was preached at a communion service, perhaps the Presanctified Liturgy once celebrated at the end of Vespers Good Friday evening according to the old rite of Constantinople [56].

From the turn of the century we have a more explicit witness, *Letters 52-55* and *71* of Athanasius I, twice patriarch of Constantinople (1289-1293, 1300-1309). In these letters to the emperor, which Talbot dates ca. 1305-1308, during his second patriarchate, Athanasius exhorts the sovereign and people to come to a service of the burial of Jesus [57].

> *Letter 52*: [1] ... hasten to assemble [2] « at the end of the Sabbath » (Mt 28:1) [3] at the Mother of Churches [Hagia Sophia] [58], [4] not only emperors and officials, [5] but also abbots (*hegoumenoi*) and priests, [6] to witness the awesome mysteries of our blessed and only Ruler and King, [7] to venerate and proclaim loudly the all-holy sacrifice (σφαγήν) [8] and the life-giving entombment (ἐνταφιασμόν) of our Savior Jesus Christ... [9] And if the leader of the service (προεστώς) cannot attend, let him send some of those who are most pious in every way. [10] In addition the great domestikos should assemble all the psalm-chanters of the ⟨Church of the⟩ Great Wisdom of God [Hagia Sophia] to sound loudly the songs of salvation [11] throughout the night (παννύχιον).
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> *Letter 53*: [12] ... assemble to marvel, glorify, venerate, lament and sing in a holy manner the mysteries of the awesome entombment... [13] to observe and witness the holy entombment... [14] I enjoin the multitudes of Nazarenes [monks] to appear in sacred garments [15] and to sing the hymns to the Departed (ἐξόδια)... [16] Therefore let us assemble quickly before nightfall (ταχὺ πρὸ νυκτός), [17] the shepherd together with his godly-minded flock.
>
> *Letter 54*: [18] ... we [the emperor and patriarch] shall both be blessed together with all the people because we have royally celebrated the entombment of the King of all, [19] praying to Him: « Arise, O Lord » (LXX Ps 43:27), especially now to rescue us from a dread fate, All-merciful One...
>
> *Letter 71*: [20] ... hasten...to the halls of Holy Wisdom [Hagia Sophia].... [21] to listen, among other things, to what has been accomplished... [22] You [the emperor] will thus offer your subjects the great, secret, and ineffable mystery, as they not only will see the inconceivable and ecstatic entombment, but will also witness... what was done by the men of that time through an inhuman and murderous impulse, [23] and share the sorrow of the ever-virgin Mother of God, [24] and see who « will roll the stone to the sepulcher », and they should not simply depart, just as a spectator interested in watching divine spectacles, but should rather remain and « bring precious ointments », in the hope that they may see the stone rolled away, and the ⟨angel⟩ sitting on the stone...so that we may worship the risen Christ...

[56] MATEOS, *Typicon* II, 80; Typikon of Evergetis, DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie* I, 553. On Good Friday Presanctified in Constantinople and elsewhere, see JANERAS, *Vespres*, 212-226; ID., *Vendredi-Saint*, 369-388. Janeras shows that THIBAUT 112-113 is wrong in interpreting the ζυμή rite of *Stavrou 43* (PK 160-161) as the Presanctified.

[57] The letters are edited by PALLAS, *Anhang* I, 299-307, and, with English trans. and commentary, by TALBOT, text 116-125, 176-179, commentary 363-365, 392 (TALBOT, *Letters 52-55, 70-71* = PALLAS *1-4, 5-6*). I cite Talbot's version, adding numbers to the text to facilitate later reference.

[58] TALBOT 363.

These letters describe what is obviously 1) a liturgical service (*passim*), 2) celebrated by the clergy [5, 9-10, 14], 3) in Hagia Sophia [1, 10, 20], 4) with the patriarch [17-18], emperor [4, 18, 22], court officials [4], and people [17-18, 22] in attendance.

What service is Athanasius talking about? The reference [2] to the Sabbath from Mt 28:1 concerns Sunday morning when the Marys went and found the tomb empty, but that cannot be taken literally, since the description of the service, if we except what is said in [24], hardly suits the Easter Vigil. So the gathering, a pannychis [11] which began before nightfall [16], could refer to Holy Saturday Orthros celebrated Good Friday night. The citation [19] of Ps 43(44):27, a responsory of that service in both the Typikon of the Great Church [59] and the later, hybrid Constantinopolitan-hagiopolite books [60], supports this hypothesis.

During the service, constantly referred to as the entombment [8, 13, 18, 22], the burial of Jesus is represented. Exactly how — only in proclamation via lections and chants; or also in dramatic re-enactment, via mimetic ritual — is not clarified. But the expressions used — to observe [13], witness [6, 13, 22] what was done; to marvel at [12], celebrate [18] and see [22] the entombment — seem to imply some ritual re-enactment in addition to

[59] MATEOS, *Typicon* II, 82-83.

[60] *Stavrou* 43, PK 177; *Typikon katanyktikon*, 735.

the proclamations and chants [7, 10, 12, 15, 19] by which the participants listen to what was done [21], share in Mary's lament [23], and sing funeral hymns to their dead Lord [15].

Pallas, who lists the verbal similarities (by no means probative in my view) between the vocabulary of Athanasius' letters and the Enkomia, sees in Athanasius our first witness to this new development in the Triduum services [61]. There is no doubt that the letters describe a service that seems to devote a novel attention to the mystery of Jesus' burial, which the participants witnessed and venerated while sharing in the mourning of Mary. Indeed, the very insistence of the patriarch on this service could mean it was an innovation. More than that cannot be safely affirmed, especially since the references to Mary's lament would go better with the Threnos Canon of Good Friday Apodeipnon (Compline), first seen at Constantinople in the twelfth-century Typikon of Evergetis [62].

Was there a burial procession during the service Athanasius describes? Both Pallas and Belting cite his *Letter 70*, « let us go out with bare feet, especially the monks, to hold a procession in contrition with the holy icons » [63], as evidence of a procession with Passion and « Man of Sorrow » icons in the context of this rite [64]. But nothing indicates that this letter and its procession refer to Holy Week ceremonies [65]. I am also skeptical of attempts to « prove » [66] from art history that such icons were used in Good Friday services. They may well have been, but we can say no more than that the developments in iconography traced by

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[61] PALLAS 39; cfr. 299-307 (apparatus).

[62] DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie* I, 154. The Canon in question, attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes, is not the same as the one referred to in note 28 above. The Greek text is edited anonymously in *Un'ufficiatura perduta del Venerdì santo*, « Roma e l'oriente », 5 (1912-13) 302-313.

[63] TALBOT 177.

[64] PALLAS 305; BELTING 5.

[65] Cfr. TALBOT 392-393. Penitential stational processions were a frequent element of Constantinopolitan liturgy throughout the year. See MATEOS, *Typicon* II, 304-305 (λιτὴ II); J. BALDOVIN, *La liturgie stationalle à Constantinople*, « La Maison-Dieu », 147 (1981) 85-94; and esp. IDEM, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (OCA 228, Rome 1987) 167-226.

[66] See BELTING 7-8.

Belting, and the contemporary evolution of the Triduum services in continuity with the gradually developing synthesis of hagiopolite and Constantinopolitan elements in the monastic Typika of the capital, all seem to move in the direction of the burial mimesis that emerges in the textual evidence of the fourteenth century. It is only then, however, that we find clear evidence of a dramatization of Jesus' burial by means of a funeral cortège [67]. Surprisingly, it is there, too, that we first see the epitaphios sindon in Holy Saturday Orthros.

THE EPITAPHIOS SINDON

1. *The Relic*

I say surprisingly, for the by no means inconsiderable historical evidence for a burial sindon relic at Constantinople, venerated as the authentic winding sheet of Jesus, begins as early as 958 with a military harangue (δημηγορία) of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus [68]. Among the Passion relics of the capital, Constantine lists those « of the sacred linens, and of the God-bearing shroud (τῶν σπαργάνων καὶ τῆς θεοφόρου σινδόνος) » [69].

Thereafter, numerous sources mention the shroud, which must have been distinct from the mandylion or sudarium [70],

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[67] See below, pp. 89-90.

[68] Ed. R. VARI, *Zum historischen Exzerptenwerke des Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos*, « Byzantinische Zeitschrift », 17 (1908) 75-85 (see p. 83, lines 27-28 for the relevant text) cfr. H. AHRWEILER, *Un discours inédit de Constantine VII Porphyrogénète*, « Travaux et mémoires », 2 (1967) 393-404; C.M. MAZZUCCHI, *La testimonianza più antica dell'esistenza di una sindone a Costantinopoli*, « Aevum », 57 (1983) 227-231; DUBARLE 55 note 6. Earlier, LEONTIOS (d. ca. 650), bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, *Sermo contra Judaeos*, PG 93, 1600, says we venerate Jesus' Passion in churches, in sindons, etc., but such a vague illusion could refer to an icon, a fresco, or some other image, and is no proof of a relic or epitaphion, or of any religious service connected with them. I owe this reference to Paul C. Maloney, General Projects Director of the Association of Scientists and Scholars International for the Shroud of Turin, Garnersville, N.Y. (letter of Nov. 11, 1987).

[69] VARI *loc. cit.*

[70] On the mandylion, see CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITUS, *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, PG 113, 423-453; E. VON DOBSCHUTZ, *Christusbilder.*

the face-cloth relic bearing the miraculous image of the Sacred Face, since more than one source refers to them as two separate objects [71]. For instance, the anonymous *Descriptio sanctuarii Constantinopoli* ca. 1190 speaks of the « Sanctum manutergium in quo est vultus Christi inpinctus quod misit Christus Ihesus ad Abagarum regem Edesse civitatis, » and also of the « linteamen et sudarium sepulturae eius » [72], preserved in the small, eighth century palace church of Theotokos Pharos [73].

But in the entire dossier of documents, analyzed most recently by A.-M. Dubarle [74], there is no mention of the sindon being used in any Paschal Triduum rites. The Good Friday services in Theotokos Pharos were associated not with this relic but with the Sacred Lance, and with the Holy Saturday eucharist which the emperor attended there [75].

The only witness to any liturgical or devotional use of the sindon relic is the French chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, Robert of Clari, writing in 1204. He places the relic at Theotokos Blachernai [76], where, he says, it was exposed for veneration every Friday — perhaps for protection against the imminent depradations of the Latin armies [77] during which, in fact, the shroud itself disappeared:

Untersuchungen zur christlicher Legende, (Texte und Untersuchungen 18, Leipzig 1899); DUBARLE, and, most recently, J.-M. FIEY, *Image d'Edesse ou Linceul de Turin. Qu'est-ce qui a été transféré à Constantinople en 944?,* « Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique », 82 (1987) 271-277.

[71] Cfr. VON DOBSCHUTZ (previous note) 145*-156*, 225*, 230*; DUBARLE 41, 51-56.

[72] S.G. MERCATI, *Santuari e reliquie costantinopolitane secondo il codice ottoboniano latino 169 prima della conquista latina (1204),* « Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia », 12 (1936) 140.

[73] On this church see Janin 232-236. According to Nicholas Mesarites, skeuophylax of Theotokos Pharos, the sindon relic was still there in 1201, on the eve of the Fourth Crusade: A. Heisenberg (ed.), NIKOLAOS MESARITES, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos,* (Programm des königlichen alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1906/1907, Würzburg 1907) 30.

[74] DUBARLE.

[75] *De ceremoniis* I, 43-44 (34-35), ed. VOGT, I, 168, 171-172.

[76] On this sanctuary, see JANIN 161-171.

[77] DUBARLE 34.

> And among these others there was another monastery called Lady Holy Mary of Blachernai, where the sindon was in which Our Lord was wrapped, which each Friday was exposed fully extended so that one could see well the figure of Our Lord on it. Nor does anyone, neither Greek nor Frenchman, know what became of the sindon after the fall of the city [78].

From this description it appears that the sindon was a long winding sheet that had to be unfolded to be seen fully.

2. *The Image*

Around the same time, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, artistic representations of the threnos scene begin to appear, first as icons and miniatures, later as the epitaphion or threnos image embroidered in cloth [79]. The custom of using embroidered vestments and textiles in Byzantium dates back to the Paleologan period (13-15th c.) [80]. The first embroidered cloth images of the dead body of Jesus appear around the fourteenth century on the aer or great veil, carried in the Great Entrance or transfer of gifts procession of the eucharistic liturgy, and used to cover the gifts after their deposition on the altar. This cloth will soon evolve into the epitaphion, depicting the full threnos scene based on the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus [81]. As I have

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[78] My trans. from the Old French original in Ph. Lauer (ed.), ROBERT DE CLARI, *La conquête de Constantinople,* (Les classiques français du Moyen-Age, Paris 1924) ch. 42, cited in DUBARLE 34 note 2: « Et entre ches autres i en eut un autre des moustiers que on apelait medame sainte marie de blakerne ou li sydoines la ou nostres sires fu envolepes i estoit. qui cascuns des venres se drechoit tous drois. si que on i pooit bien veir le figure notre seigneur. ne ne seut on onques, ne griu ne franchois que chis sydoines devint quant le vile fu prise ». The English version, ROBERT OF CLARI, *The Conquest of Constantinople,* trans. E. McNeil (New York 1936), was not available to me.

[79] See the recent studies of DUBARLE 42-50; BELTING 13-15; K. WEITZMANN, *The Origins of the Threnos,* in ID., *Byzantine Book Illumination and Ivories,* (Variorum Reprints, London 1980) no. IX; and the older references I give in my study cited in note 82 below.

[80] P. JOHNSTONE, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery,* (London 1967) 10.

[81] On the whole question of the development of this cloth and its use in the liturgy, see my study cited in the following note.

shown elsewhere [82], its development results from the symbolism of the Great Entrance as the burial cortège of Jesus, an interpretation that, in turn, can be traced back to Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Homily 15*, 25-29 (ca. 388-392) [83].

3. *The Rite*

Eventually this image becomes associated with the Gospel procession of Orthros in the following manner. In the Typikon of the Great Church, festive Asmatikos Orthros ended with a reading of the Gospel, followed by the customary concluding litanies and dismissal [84]. This reading was preceded by the solemn entrance of the patriarch and clergy, bearing the evangeliary, during the Great Doxology or *Gloria in excelsis* and the Trisagion that follows it [85]. By the fourteenth century, we see a new development, as this common entrance of the clergy with the Gospel acquires on Holy Saturday a mimetic character. The Typikon of codex *Athos Vatopedi 954* (*1199*), dating from AD 1346, has the priest bear the Gospel book not resting on his breast, as customarily, but on his right shoulder, wrapped in the aer like a sindon, in imitation of Joseph of Arimathea bearing Jesus' body to the tomb (Jn 19:17), while the Trisagion is sung in the funeral dirge melody [86]. As Pallas notes [87], this association of a Gospel procession with the Passion is adumbrated in the twelfth-century *Liturgical Commentary* 13, of Ps - Sophronios of Jerusalem, where the Lesser Introit or Entrance of the Gospel in the Byzantine Divine Liturgy is interpreted as a Via Crucis: « The priest comes out carrying the Gospel, like Christ [bearing]

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[82] R. Taft, *The Great Entrance* (OCA 200, 2nd ed. Rome 1978) 216-219: « Excursus: The Aer-Epitaphion ».

[83] R. Tonneau, R. Devreesse (eds.), *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* (Studi e testi 145, Città del Vaticano 1949) 503-511. Cfr. R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Great Church: an Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm*, DOP 34-35 (1980-81) 55, 62-66, 72-75.

[84] Mateos, *Typicon* I, xxiii.

[85] *Ibidem*, II, 82-83, cfr. 312.

[86] Pallas 40-41.

[87] Pallas 41.

the cross. But if the deacon carries it, he is imitating [μιμεῖται] Simon, the one compelled [to carry Jesus' cross] » [88].

The first witness to the epitaphion borne, as today, like a baldachin over the priest carrying the Gospel, is in a sixteenth-century ms of the Slavonic Trebnik, *Moscow Synod Slav 310* (*377*) [89]. But Janeras has shown that early Greek printed books long ignore this procession, until it finally appears in Constantine Protopsaltes' edition of the Typikon, in Constantinople, in 1838 [90]. And as late as the 1879 Roman Triodion [91] there is no mention of either of today's two cortèges.

CONCLUSION

What this brief study shows is that liturgy also has its history, and history is the story of change. In the case of the Byzantine Paschal Triduum rites, it has been the story of a gradual shift from a sober, Constantinopolitan scriptural anamnesis of the Passion mysteries concentrated in Good Friday Vespers; to a hagiopolite-influenced system that spreads the scriptural anamnesis throughout the services in a more historicizing manner, gives far greater play to the expression of religious emotions and theological reflection via a massive infusion of liturgical poetry so characteristic of the Byzantine neo-Sabaitic books, and, finally, allows free play to the mimetic ceremonial so dear to Medieval and later piety in both East and West.

But that truism, that the history of liturgy is the story of changing liturgy, far from disconcerting, is a source of freedom, a freedom that has been experienced in recent liturgical reforms in the West, but a freedom needed also, I think, in the Churches which have inherited the Byzantine-hagiopolite uses of Holy Week. For a combination of factors — the contemporary romance with Eastern Christianity; the beauty of the pageantry

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[88] PG 87.3, 3993C.

[89] M. Lisicyn, *Pervonačal'nyj slavjano-russkij tipikon. Istoriko-archeologičeskoe izsledovanie* (St. Petersburg 1911) 150-151; cfr. Pallas 42.

[90] *Vendredi-Saint*, 395-396, 401.

[91] *Triodion katanyktikon*, 707, 709.

and chants of Byzantine Holy Week, especially in comparison with the sterility of some other traditions; and the celebration of these rites in a language the people no longer understand — have contributed to camouflage the fact that these services, in their present state, are a patchwork of several disharmonious elements and burdensome repetitions, especially with regard to the lections — the inevitable « loose ends », as I called them above, of a long and complex history.

From the lections alone it is obvious that we are faced here with a composite tradition that has been subjected to little attempt at homogeneity or coordination. The entire Passion story is recounted three times, at Matins, in the Great Hours, and at Vespers — indeed, lections from the twelve Passion Gospels of Friday Matins are repeated immediately thereafter, in the Great Hours. In addition to duplications in the readings, there are also two burial processions, one, understandably, at Good Friday Vespers; the other, out of sequence, at Holy Saturday Matins. Furthermore, the introduction of the Constantinopolitan lections into Jerusalem Good Friday Vespers has transformed that service, formely centered on the burial of Jesus in Mt 27:57-61, into a Constantinopolitan-type general Passion anamnesis [92]. That change, in turn, accords ill with the burial cortège procession which, as we have already noted, is now a part of this service.

These problems are widely recognized. The simple proof of that is the fact that in actual parish usage, attempts are made to abbreviate the services, especially the readings [93], while leaving the official editions of the liturgical books intact. This poses less difficulty with regard to the poetic chants, a large anthology of material from which selection, according to need, can easily be made.

But the problem of the lections is more complex. It is not enough just to cut short the existing readings or to suppress a few of them. For it is not simply a question of too many or

[92] Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 349-350.

[93] See, for instance, the popular book of Greek Orthodox Protopresbyter Fr. George L. Papadeas, *Greek Orthodox Holy Week & Easter Services* (New York 1967), which gives the Greek text, with facing English translation, of the Holy Week services in abbreviated form.

too lenghty pericopes. The actual Holy Week Triduum readings present us with the interference of two distinct lection systems based on two opposing formative principles. The Constantinopolitan system was unitary, concentrating the entire Passion anamnesis in the lessons of a single service; the hagiopolite system was sequential, distributing the readings throughout the Triduum according to the chronological sequence of the Passion as narrated in the Gospels. The combination of the two systems results in a lection series that is neither sequential nor unitary, but a hodgepodge that satisfies neither organizational principle.

A further problem, of course, is the dislocation of the cursus, with Good Friday and Holy Saturday Matins anticipated in the evening, and the old Easter Vigil — Vespers with the vigil lections and the Liturgy of St. Basil — celebrated Holy Saturday morning, as was true of the Roman Rite before the 1951 reform of Pius XII.

So the problems are many. Some of the solutions are obvious, others less so. One thing is certain, however: private tinkering by those whose confidence and daring is not matched by any visible competence is no substitute for a more general reordering of these services and their readings, officially mandated by the authorities of the respective Byzantine Churches, and planned by persons with recognized authority in the field.

What shape might such a revision take? Concretely, I would make the following modest suggestions:

1. *The Processions*

The two cortège processions are extraordinarily popular. They should simply be left as they are, carried out with full solemnity, and where feasible, outside and not just within the church.

The Slavs could well take a page from the Greeks and Melkites, and introduce the procession and enthronement of the cross during antiphon 15 of Good Friday Orthros, just before Gospel 6 (Mk 15:16-32), which recounts the Via Crucis [94].

[94] *Lenten Triodion*, 587-588, and above, pp. 80-81.

2. *The Lections*

At the Service of the Passion in Good Friday Orthros, those Gospels which duplicate readings of the Good Friday Great Hours (Gospels 5, 6, 8, 9) and Holy Saturday Orthros (12) should simply be dropped. This will require some reorganization of the service and its lection system, to preserve the coordination of motifs between the pericopes and the accompanying poetry. Even when the Great Hours are not celebrated, the integrity of the Passion proclamation is retained via the readings at Good Friday Vespers, which may be left as they are. The readings of Holy Saturday Orthros are already in accord with the spirit of the day.

These changes would, I think, improve matters until a general (and needed) revision of the entire Byzantine lectionary, which might result in a more radical reform.

3. *The Cursus*

There seems to be general agreement that the present dislocation of Triduum services caused by their anticipation is less than ideal. The entire cycle is moved back one notch, with the resulting incongruity that Matins of Good Friday and Holy Saturday are celebrated the previous evening, and Vespers of the old Easter Vigil on Holy Saturday morning. But any reordering of the horarium must take account of pastoral needs, since people are more important than man-made schedules and rules.

4. *The Hymnody*

Here the problem is not with the chant texts themselves, since they provide a marvellous repertory from which enough material can be selected without overburdening the offices excessively. Difficulties arise, rather, when they are chanted in a language that the people no longer understand, and by the choir alone, without any attempt to foster popular participation.

This problem extends beyond the limits of Holy Week to encompass the entire Byzantine liturgy, and is far too vast to do more than expose its existence. Yet it is a problem often ignored, especially by western authors who write glowingly of popular participation in eastern liturgies, in spite of the fact that in some Byzantine Churches such participation is non-existent, and all chants without exception are executed by cantor(s) and/or choir.

But whatever steps, if any, are taken to provide a more manageable series of Triduum services, one must bear in mind two fundamental pastoral principles. First, the worship of the Church is for the entire People of God, not just for clergy, monks, and professional devotees of the Christian East. In other words, pastoral care must be based on reality, not on the personal preferences or nostalgia of a cultural elite. And what an even superficial glance at reality shows is that the world of Byzantine liturgy as lyrically described in Peter Hammond's *The Waters of Marah. The Present State of the Greek Church* (London 1956) is no longer paradigmatic. One third of the population of Greece lives in Athens, and they are not immune to the problems of urbanism and secularization long experienced elsewhere [95] — it is said that only about nine percent of them go to church every Sunday, according to the Greek Orthodox Church's own statistics [96].

Secondly, and in the light of that first principle, liturgy is not an endurance test whose quality is in direct proportion to its length. More is not necessarily better, especially in parish worship, which simply cannot ignore the concrete needs and possibilities of the worshipping community without denying its very *raison d'être*.

These, at least, are truths I must remind myself of constantly. For I am not fundamentally discontent with the Byzantine Holy Week services as I have celebrated them year after year for decades. But then I am not the Byzantine Church.

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[95] Lest anyone think this is my personal view, see the remarks of the Greek Orthodox scholar A. Katsanakis, *Anmerkungen zur Dialektik von religiösen Kult und Gesellschaft in Griechenland*, in A. Kallis (ed.), *Philoxenia* Festschrift für B. Kötting (Münster 1980) 173-191, esp. 190-191.

[96] « Episkepsis » no. 240 (Nov. 1, 1980) 8. These statistics may be considered generous. Another source puts Greek Orthodox Sunday practice at six percent in the village and five percent in urban areas M. Rinvolucri, *The Anatomy of a Church: Greek Orthodoxy Today*, (London 1966) 27.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BELTING = H. BELTING, *An Image and its Function in the Liturgy: the Man of Sorrows in Byzantium*, DOP 34-35 (1980-1981) 1-16 + 22 plates.

De ceremoniis, see VOGT.

DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Tipikony* = A.A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnejšie patriaršie tipikony svjatogrobskij ierusalimskij i Velikoj Konstantinopol'skoj Cerkvi. Kritiko-bibliografičeškoe izsledovanie*, (Kiev 1907).

DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie* = ID., *Opisanie liturgičeških rukopisej chranjaščichšja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka*, I-II (Kiev 1895, 1901), III (Petrograd 1917).

DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

DUBARLE = A.-M. DUBARLE, *Histoire ancien du linceul de Turin jusqu'au XIIIe siècle*, (Paris 1985).

JANERAS, *Vangeli* = S. JANERAS, *I vangeli domenicali della resurrezione nelle tradizioni liturgiche agiopolita e bizantina*, in G. Farnedi (ed.), *Paschale mysterium. Studi in memoria dell'Abate Prof. Salvatore Marsili (1910-1983)*, (Analecta liturgica 10 = Studia anselmiana 91, Rome 1986) 55-69.

JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint* = ID., *Le Vendredi-Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine. Structure et histoire de ses offices*, (Analecta liturgica 12 = Studia anselmiana 99, Rome 1988).

JANERAS, *Vespres* = ID., *Les vespres del Divendres Sant en la tradició litúrgica de Jerusalem i de Constantinoble*, in *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 7, (1982) 187-234.

JANIN = R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, Partie I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, tome 3: *Les églises et les monastères*, (Paris 1969).

Lenten Triodion = *The Lenten Triodion*, trans. Mother MARY and K. WARE (London & Boston 1978).

MATEOS, *Typicon I-II* = J. MATEOS (ed.), *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise. Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes, 2 vols. (OCA 165-166, Rome 1962-1963).

OC = *Oriens Christianus*.

OCA = Orientalia Christiana Analecta.

PALLAS = D.I. PALLAS, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus — das Bild*, (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 2, Munich 1965).

PK = A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (ed.), Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας II, (St. Petersburg 1894).

PO 36 = A.(C.) RENOUX (ed.), *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, II. *Edition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits*, (Patrologia orientalis 36.2 = no. 168, Turnhout 1971) 139-388.

TAFT, *Hours* = R. TAFT, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*, (Collegeville, Minn. 1986).

TALBOT = Alice-Mary MAFFRY TALBOT (ed.), *The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople. An Edition, Translation, and Commentary*, (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 7 = Dumbarton Oaks Texts 3, Washington D.C. 1975).

TARCHNIŠVILI = M. TARCHNIŠVILI (ed.), *Le grande lectionnaire de l'Eglise de Jérusalem (Ve-VIIIe siècle)*, (CSCO 188-189, 204-205 = scr. iberici 9-10, 13-14, Louvain 1959-1960).

Triodion katanyktikon = Τριῴδιον κατανυκτικόν, (Rome 1879).

THIBAUT = J.-B. THIBAUT, *Ordre des offices de la Semaine sainte à Jérusalem du IVe au Xe siècle*, (Paris 1926).

VOGT = CONSTANTIN VII PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, *Le Livre des cérémonies*. Texte établi et traduit par A. VOGT, I-II, (Paris 1935, 1939).

VI

A Tale of Two Cities
The Byzantine Holy Week Triduum as a Paradigm of Liturgical History

The Background

POPULAR MYTH WOULD HAVE EASTERN CHRISTIANITY A LIVING MUSEUM OF early Christian usages preserved intact. The fact of the matter is that during the period of Late Antiquity practically every liturgical innovation except the 25 December Nativity feast originated in the East. This creativity remained characteristic of the so-called "Byzantine Rite" into the Late Byzantine Period,[1] when changed political circumstances forced the Byzantines to give priority to the struggle for the survival of empire and church.

I call it the "so-called Byzantine Rite" advisedly, for the rites of both Romes, the Roman and the Byzantine, are hybrids. Like English, these two ritual languages showed during their formative period an astonishing capacity to absorb and synthesize new strains and outside influences, and to adapt themselves to new exigencies.[2]

This history can best be illustrated in laboratory fashion, by isolating a single specimen and placing it under the microscope as a paradigm of the broader history. In a *Festschrift* to honor Thomas Julian Talley, from whose seminal contributions to the origins of the liturgical year we have learned so much, it is fitting that our specimen be drawn from heortology. I have chosen the Byzantine Paschal Triduum.

The Jerusalem-Constantinople Axis and the Formation of the "Byzantine Rite"

The story is basically a "Tale of Two Cities," Jerusalem and Constantinople. For it is to the hagiopolite rite of Jerusalem and to the monasteries of Palestine that we must turn for the sources of much that now characterizes the Byzantine Paschal Triduum. By the time of Egeria (384), the Jerusalem Triduum had already a developed system of stational services following the sequence of the events of Jesus' Passion.[3] Constantinople, however, remained relatively immune to these developments, retaining a very sober Holy Week liturgy throughout most of the first millennium, up until the period of monastic dominance that follows the struggle against Iconoclasm (726-775, 815-843), when it is enriched by the gradual introduction of hagiopolite elements.

That the pilgrims who flocked to the Holy Land from the fourth century on carried home with them the colorful and dramatic liturgical usages of hagiopolite Holy Week needs no demonstration. It is equally a truism of liturgical history that the Church of Constantinople became predominant throughout the Eastern Empire by the end of the fourth century, and that its rite influenced those of lesser sees, including Jerusalem.[4] The earliest extant Greek manuscript of the Jerusalem eucharistic Liturgy of Saint James, the ninth-century roll *Vatican Gr. 2282*, already shows unmistakable traces of byzantinization.[5]

This mutual exchange became especially intense towards the end of the first millennium. How this happened is known in its broad outlines, if not yet studied in all its extremely intricate details. By the ninth century the Church of Constantinople had evolved a native calendar,[6] lectionary system,[7] eucharistic liturgy,[8] and other sacramental rites,[9] as well as a cathedral liturgy of the hours, the *Asmatike Akolouthia* or "Sung Office" of the Great Church.[10] The *Akoimetoi* or "sleepless" monks of the capital had their own divine office, which need not concern us here.[11] But after the first phase of the Iconoclastic crisis (726-775), which pitted the iconodule monks against the rest of the Byzantine Church, a restoration was inaugurated under monastic auspices. Only during this struggle and its aftermath do Byzantine monks begin to play a significant role in the governance of their church[12] and, consequently, in the history of its liturgy.

This was due largely to the leadership of one of the great figures of Byzantine church history, Saint Theodore, Abbot of Stoudios (d.826).[13] Theodore summoned to the capital some Palestinian monks of the Monastery of Saint Sabas, in the Judean Desert between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, to help in the struggle against the Iconoclasts.[14] For in the

poetic chants of the Sabaitic offices Theodore discerned a sure guide of orthodoxy, he writes to Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem.[15] The monks of Stoudios gradually synthesized this imported office of Saint Sabas with material from the *Asmatike Akolouthia* or cathedral office of the Great Church to create a hybrid "Studite" office: a Palestinian Horologion or book of hours with its psalmody and hymns, woven into a warp of litanies and their collects from the Euchology or prayerbook of the Great Church.[16]

But the evolution of the Byzantine hours did not stop with its Studite phase. This Constantinopolitan-Sabaitic synthesis spread throughout the Byzantine monastic world, including Palestine, where it was subjected to further hagiopolite monastic developments. It is at this point, around the turn of the millennium, that our Holy Week documentation reveals a fascinating symbiosis: as the rite of Constantinople is being monasticized *via* Palestine, the rite of Palestine is being further byzantinized. This hybrid neo-Sabaitic monastic office was ultimately adopted by the hesychast communities on Mt. Athos, where it received its final codification in the fourteenth century. This synthesis, basically the Byzantine Rite we know today, spread throughout the Orthodox world (except for Southern Italy) in the wake of the reform movement propagated by the hagiorite hesychasts under the leadership of Philotheos Kokkinos, hegumen of the Great Lavra and later (1347) Bishop of Heraclea, who ascended the patriarchal throne of Constantinople in 1353.[17]

The Holy Week services of this neo-Sabaitic rite are still in use today; codified in the Byzantine liturgical book called the *Triodion*, an anthology of Lenten propers for which we have manuscripts from the tenth century. It contains a medieval mix of long and complex Triduum services, in sharp contrast to the simpler Triduum *Urqut* of old Constantinople, cradle of the Byzantine Rite.

Let us see what today's services look like, how they differ from the old rite of Constantinople, and how they got that way.

The Byzantine Triduum Today

Today's Byzantine Triodion Triduum[18] begins Holy Thursday evening with the Service of the Passion or anticipated Good Friday Orthros (matins), a three-hour marathon characterized by the chanting of twelve gospel lections, comprising the entire Passion account in all four gospels, including the Last Discourse of John. This proclamation is duplicated Good Friday during the "Great" or "Royal Hours" of prime, terce, sext, and none, celebrated usually only in monasteries, seminaries, and large churches. Each hour has a prophecy, an epistle, and a Passion gospel (in

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This was due largely to the leadership of one of the great figures of Byzantine church history, Saint Theodore, Abbot of Stoudios (d.826).[13] Theodore summoned to the capital some Palestinian monks of the Monastery of Saint Sabas, in the Judean Desert between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, to help in the struggle against the Iconoclasts.[14] For in the

poetic chants of the Sabaitic offices Theodore discerned a sure guide of orthodoxy, he writes to Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem.[15] The monks of Stoudios gradually synthesized this imported office of Saint Sabas with material from the *Asmatike Akolouthia* or cathedral office of the Great Church to create a hybrid "Studite" office: a Palestinian Horologion or book of hours with its psalmody and hymns, woven into a warp of litanies and their collects from the Euchology or prayerbook of the Great Church.[16]

But the evolution of the Byzantine hours did not stop with its Studite phase. This Constantinopolitan-Sabaitic synthesis spread throughout the Byzantine monastic world, including Palestine, where it was subjected to further hagiopolite monastic developments. It is at this point, around the turn of the millennium, that our Holy Week documentation reveals a fascinating symbiosis: as the rite of Constantinople is being monasticized *via* Palestine, the rite of Palestine is being further byzantinized. This hybrid neo-Sabaitic monastic office was ultimately adopted by the hesychast communities on Mt. Athos, where it received its final codification in the fourteenth century. This synthesis, basically the Byzantine Rite we know today, spread throughout the Orthodox world (except for Southern Italy) in the wake of the reform movement propagated by the hagiorite hesychasts under the leadership of Philotheos Kokkinos, hegumen of the Great Lavra and later (1347) Bishop of Heraclea, who ascended the patriarchal throne of Constantinople in 1353.[17]

The Holy Week services of this neo-Sabaitic rite are still in use today; codified in the Byzantine liturgical book called the *Triodion*, an anthology of Lenten propers for which we have manuscripts from the tenth century. It contains a medieval mix of long and complex Triduum services, in sharp contrast to the simpler Triduum *Urqut* of old Constantinople, cradle of the Byzantine Rite.

Let us see what today's services look like, how they differ from the old rite of Constantinople, and how they got that way.

The Byzantine Triduum Today

Today's Byzantine Triodion Triduum[18] begins Holy Thursday evening with the Service of the Passion or anticipated Good Friday Orthros (matins), a three-hour marathon characterized by the chanting of twelve gospel lections, comprising the entire Passion account in all four gospels, including the Last Discourse of John. This proclamation is duplicated Good Friday during the "Great" or "Royal Hours" of prime, terce, sext, and none, celebrated usually only in monasteries, seminaries, and large churches. Each hour has a prophecy, an epistle, and a Passion gospel (in

sext and none, only of the crucifixion) from Matthew (prime), Mark (terce), Luke (sext), John (none).

Early the same afternoon, Good Friday vespers are celebrated, with three Old Testament readings, an epistle, and a Passion gospel. At the end of vespers occurs the first "burial procession" of Jesus.

Holy Saturday matins, with its long and beautiful poetry, follows the same evening. It, too, has a burial cortege and readings, including a prophecy, an epistle, and the gospel of the sealing and guarding the tomb.

In these offices, three characteristics immediately stand out, especially to those with some experience of their celebration: (1) the absolutely staggering number of Passion gospel lections, seventeen in all, twelve of them at Good Friday matins. From these gospel lections alone it is obvious we face here a composite tradition that has been subjected to little attempt at homogeneity or coordination. The entire Passion gospels of Friday matins are repeated immediately thereafter, in the Great Hours. (2) The extraordinary beauty of the liturgical poetry, and its major role in communicating the sense of the liturgical anamnesis. (3) The solemn mimetic ritual of the two processions of the burial of Jesus.

Most interesting to the historian of liturgy, however, is fact 4: *none* of the above three elements is found in the rite of old Constantinople!

Triduum Services in Old Constantinople

For Constantinople, in spite of the awesome grandeur of its cathedral, Hagia Sophia, and the imperial splendor of the liturgies celebrated therein, long retained a Paschal Triduum of remarkable simplicity and primitive sobriety, redolent of an earlier age when fasting and watching and prayer were the only "ceremonial" characteristics of these days.[19] Constantinopolitan liturgical books of the entire first millennium show hardly a trace of the repetitive Passion proclamation or of the colorful, mimetic drama of today's Byzantine Paschal Triduum. According to the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church,[20] the Constantinopolitan offices of Good Friday comprised: Pannychis[21] on the vigil Holy Thursday evening, after the Chrism Mass; Orthros and Tritoekte (terce-sext)[22] in the morning; vespers with Presanctified Eucharist in the evening.[23] The only distinctive ceremonial elements were the veneration of the Sacred Lance (Jn 19:34), the Great Church's prized Passion relic, before Orthros,[24] and the prebaptismal catechesis and renunciation of Satan, which the patriarch held in Hagia Eirene, after Tritoekte, for the *photizomenoi*.[25] The adoration of the relic, however, was but the continuation of a devotion begun at dawn on Holy Thursday, not an integral part of the Good Friday liturgy.[26] And the catechesis and renunciation were

part of the paschal initiation process, not a Passion commemoration.

Basically, then, what the Church of Constantinople did on Good Friday was what it did on every other Friday of Lent.[27] Apart from the para-liturgical veneration of the lance—para-liturgical because it is not integrated into any of the normal offices of the cursus—Constantinople had no Thursday night Passion nocturns, no Good Friday day hours with Passion gospels, no reading at all of the Last Discourse of John 13-17,[28] no adoration of the cross or its relic.[29] Indeed, as Janeras has noted,[30] apart from a few chant pieces at Good Friday Orthros—and that is the sort of festive coloration found on any special liturgical day—there are few proper elements, and no scripture lections at all, in any of the Constantinopolitan Good Friday services except vespers.

The Proclamation of the Passion in the Old Constantinopolitan Triduum Lections

So the only thing special about the Constantinopolitan Triduum are the lections of the Holy Thursday evening services, and of Good Friday vespers.

Maundy Thursday Evening

The essence of what was to be understood about Maundy Thursday was found after vespers in the *mandatum* or *pedilavium* rite with its gospel, John 13:3-17, followed by the evening eucharist with its series of five vigil lections:[31]

Ex 19:10-19
Job 38:1-21
Is 50:4-11
1 Cor 11:23-32

Gospel Concordance:
Mt 26:2-20
Jn 13:3-17
Mt 26:21-39
Lk 22:43-44
Mt 26:40-27:2

The gospel cento is a chronologically arranged concordance of the Thursday night events from the Last Supper until Good Friday dawn. The epistle is the Pauline Institution Narrative. Isaiah foreshadows the Passion events recounted in the gospel cento. But the first two Old Testa-

source-traditions.[42] The key documents are, (1) for Jerusalem, the Armenian[43] (5th c.) and Georgian (5-8th c.)[44] hagiopolite lectionaries, and codex *Stavrou* 43, copied in 1122 A.D. but reflecting layers of liturgical material from over a century earlier, certainly before the destruction of the Holy Places by the Caliph al-Hakim in 1009;[45] (2) for Constantinople, the Typikon of the Great Church in manuscripts of the ninth-tenth centuries,[46] the Evangeliary,[47] and the Prophetologion or lectionary of Old Testament lessons.[48]

Though a veritable explosion in the composition of the new liturgical poetry in this period is perhaps the most remarkable new development,[49] I shall concentrate here on the more easily manageable shifts in structure and, especially, in the lection system, as a paradigm of this fascinating medieval symbiosis in this formative phase of liturgical history. It is one I prefer to call "the period of the unification of rites," a period of synthesis, initiated at the end of Late Antiquity, which will result in the gradual synthesis of myriad local usages into the great liturgical families, the Eastern and Western Rites we still know today.

By way of illustration, then, let us take a closer look at the structure, and especially the lections, in the services of the Byzantine Holy Week Triduum.[50]

Good Friday Matins

Good Friday Orthros—namely, matins—in today's Byzantine books has the following structure (elements not proper to Good Friday but pertaining to the ordinary structure of Orthros are italicized):

Hexapsalmos (Pss 3, 37, 62, 87, 102, 142)
Great synapte (litany)
Alleluia tone plaq. 4
Troparion tone plaq. 4: "When the glorious disciples ..."
Gospels 1-5, each followed by: 3 antiphons
Small synapte
Sessional Hymn
Gospel 6
Beatitudes with verses intercalated
Small synapte
Prokeimenon (responsory)
Gospel 7
Ps 50
Gospel 8
Canon, with small synapte after odes 3, 6, 9

Exaposteilarion (refrain)
Gospel 9
Lauds with stichera (refrains)
Gospel 10
"Glory to you who have shown us the light!"
Gloria in excelsis
Kataxioson ("Dignare, Domine ...")
Synapte with aiteseis (biddings)
Prayer of Inclination
Gospel 11
Aposticha (refrains)
Gospel 12
Trisagion
"Most Holy Trinity ..."
Our Father
Troparion (refrain)
Ektene (litany)
Dismissal

This is a typical Sabaitic Orthros with gospels, antiphons, the beatitudes, and litanies intercalated. Now this rite is substantially the same as the one in *Stavrou* 43, if we prescind from some variants and, especially, from the fact that in Jerusalem the vigil was still a stational service in which the congregation went in procession, chanting antiphons, to the Mount of Olives, then back to the city, stopping at six different stations for gospels 2-7, then to Calvary for the last four gospels (8-11).[51] The lections in *Stavrou* 43,[52] *Stavrou* 40,[53] and today's Triodion,[54] are basically the same:

		Stavrou 43	*Stavrou 40 and Triodion*
Gospel	1	Jn 13:31-18:1	+
	2	Jn 18:1-28	+
	3	Mt 26:57-75	+
	4	Jn 18:28-19:16	+
	5	Mt 27:3-32	+
	6	Mk 14:53-15:32	Mk 15:16-32
	7	Mt 27:33-54	+
	8	Lk 23:32-49	+
	9	Jn 19:25-37	+

		Stavrou 43	*Stavrou 40 and Triodion*
Chapter	10	Mk 15:43-47	+
	11	Jn 19:38-42	+
	12	—	Mt 27:62-66

But these are *not* the same gospel lections as in the old Jerusalem stational vigil in the Armenian and Georgian lectionaries.[55] There we find only seven (eight) readings. Furthermore, they do not include the entire Passion, as in the later list of eleven (twelve), but only the events of Holy Thursday night, ending with the morning of Good Friday in the Johannine account (Jn 18:28-19:16a): the trials before Caiaphas and Pilate, the scourging and crowning with thorns, the handing over of Jesus to be crucified:

		Arm. Lect. ms J:	*Ibid. ms P:*	*Georg. Lect.:*
Gospel	1	Jn 13:16-18:1	[1] +	13:31-18:2
	2	Lk 22:1-65	[2] 22:39-46	22:39-46
	3	Mk 14:27-72	[3] 14:33-42	14:33-42
	4	Mt 26:31-56	[4] 26:36-56	26:36-56
	5	Mt 26:57-75	[5] 26:57-27:2	26:57-27:2
	6	Jn 18:2-27	-	-
	7	Jn 18:28-19:16a	[6] +	+
				[7] Jn 18:3-2
			[7] Lk 22:54-23:31	[8] +

Where did the longer list originate? As Janeras has shown, it is a composite *Constantinopolitan* series resulting from the combination of two separate *Jerusalem* cycles, the old vigil lections of Holy Thursday night, and those of the Good Friday day hours.[56] Of the twelve gospels, 1-4 are found as gospels 1, 6, 5, 7 in the stational vigil lists of two manuscripts of the old Armenian Lectionary.[57] Of the rest, 5, 6, 8 are from prime, terce, sext of the hagiopolite Good Friday day hours in *Stavrou 43*;[58] 12 is from Holy Saturday Orthros in both earlier and later Jerusalem documents (the Armenian[59] and Georgian[60] lectionaries and *Stavrou 43*[61]); and we can recognize the source of gospel 9 (Jn 19:26-37) in none of *Stavrou 43* (Jn 18:28-19:37).[62]

Originally the Constantinopolitan series, already visible in evangeliary manuscripts from the ninth century, comprised only the first eleven gospels of the longer list.[63] Why did Constantinopolitan redactors expand the series to eleven (later twelve[64]) gospels, instead of just borrowing the Jerusalem system of eight? Probably, Janeras opines, because they wanted a series of Passion lections parallel to the eleven resurrection gospels of Sunday Orthros, and because the well-entrenched Constantinopolitan day service of Tritoekte made them reluctant to adopt the hagiopolite Great Hours with lections as the Good Friday daytime services.[65]

The Great Hours

Eventually, however, in a second stage of the evolution of the Triduum, they did just that, which is why Byzantine Good Friday services today have such a burdensome and repetitious series of Passion lections. The fact that these Great Hours are the only element of today's Triduum services not a Constantinopolitan-hagiopolite hybrid, but were simply borrowed as they were found in the Jerusalem books, betrays them as a later addition, inserted alongside an already existing synthesis of the two traditions.[66]

Good Friday Vespers

Already in *Stavrou 43*, Good Friday vespers has its present form: hagiopolite vespers with the old Constantinopolitan lections interpolated almost intact.[67] Here, too, it is obvious what has happened: Constantinople gave to Jerusalem its lections, which inserted them into its own Sabaitic vespers—and then reciprocated the favor by donating the new synthesis to the Great Church.[68] This, of course, presents for the third time the whole Passion story, already told at Orthros and in the Great Hours of Good Friday, and transforms old Jerusalem Good Friday vespers, centered on the burial of Jesus in Matthew 27:57-61,[69] into a Constantinopolitan-type general Passion anamnesis.[70]

A Final Problem: The Missing Burial Cortege Processions

But what of the double burial cortege procession so characteristic of today's Triduum? I have already dealt with this question elsewhere.[71] Suffice it to say here that we see no hint of this mimetic ritual in any of the Holy Week Triduum services of Constantinople before the thirteenth century. In section IV (Triduum Services in Old Constantinople) we noted the evidence for an extra-liturgical veneration of the Passion relics during the Triduum in the capital. But the later mimetic burial processions have no connection with these older Constantinopolitan usages. They evolved much later, beginning with the one at the end of Holy Saturday Orthros, in the following manner. In the Typikon of the Great Church, festive Asmatikos Orthros concluded with a reading of the gos-

pel, followed by the customary concluding litanies and dismissal.[72] This reading was preceded by the solemn entrance of the patriarch and clergy, with the evangeliary, *Gloria in excelsis* and the Trisagion that follows it.[73] By the fourteenth century, we see a new development, as this common entrance of the clergy with the gospel acquires on Holy Saturday a mimetic character. The Typikon of codex *Athos Vatopedi 954 (1199)*, dating from A.D. 1346, has the priest bear the gospel book not resting on his breast, as customarily, but on his right shoulder, wrapped in the aer like a sindon, in imitation of Joseph of Arimathea bearing Jesus' body to the tomb (Jn 19:17), while the Trisagion is sung in the funeral dirge melody.[74] The first witness to the epitaphion borne, as today, like a baldachin over the priest carrying the gospel, is in a sixteenth-century manuscript of the Slavonic Trebnik, *Moscow Synod Slav 310 (377)*.[75] But as Janeras notes,[76] early Greek printed books long ignore this procession, until it finally appears in Constantine Protopsaltes' edition of the Typikon, in Constantinople, in 1838. As late as the 1879 Roman Triodion there is no mention of either of today's two cortèges.[77]

Conclusion

The Hagiopolite Rite and the Rite of the Great Church no longer exist. In their stead the Byzantine Rite, a new synthesis of elements from the traditions of both Jerusalem and, especially, Constantinople, had come to be celebrated throughout the Orthodox East by the end of the Byzantine Era (1453). Still extant manuscripts of the ninth century show the effects of this mutual influence already, and it was undoubtedly well underway in the eighth century, if not before. It was a two-way street, and the traffic was intense. Each see borrowed from the other and joined the loaned elements to its own heritage, before sending the newly packaged synthesis home gift-wrapped for still further adaptation there. Jerusalem will ultimately prefer Constantinople's eucharist and other sacramental rites to its own. Constantinople will drop its divine office in favor of a multilevel reworking of the Palestinian monastic hours.

We have studied this process of give and take in the services of the Holy Week Triduum. By the ninth century, hagiopolite lections had infiltrated into the Triduum of Constantinople. These lections are integrated into the already existing system of the Great Church. Then the new synthesis finds its way back to Jerusalem, where it is incorporated into the corresponding hagiopolite offices by the end of the millennium. This is the situation we saw in *Stavrou* 43 before 1009. It is this system that is ultimately codified in the Byzantine Triodion.

Such an historical analysis confirms one of Baumstark's "laws," formulated against the then current theory of Ferdinand Probst: that liturgical families or "rites" did not evolve *via* a process of diversification, like spokes radiating out of a single hub, but *via* a process of synthesis and unification of the variant usages within a single sphere of liturgical and ecclesiastical authority and influence—in our case, the zone dominated by the Byzantine Orthodox Church.[78]

We saw in section II above that in Constantinople alone before the city fell to the Latins in the Fourth Crusade (1204) there were three clearly identifiable liturgical uses, one cathedral—the Rite of the Great Church, i.e., Hagia Sophia—and two monastic, the older *akolouthia ton akoimeton* or "Office of the Sleepless Monks," and the more recent Studite usage. And even within the long-dominant Studite usage one sees such variety from monastery to monastery that no two Typika manuscripts are ever exactly the same unless one is copied from the other. Beyond the capital the issue is complicated still further by the usages of other traditions, especially of Jerusalem and the great monastic centers, and the local variants within each of them.

So until the period of restauration that followed the Latin occupation of 1204-1260, one cannot really speak of *the* Byzantine Rite, nor even of *the* rite of Constantinople, except as topographical designations for variant local usages that will eventually be distilled into what we know as the Byzantine Rite. Like local dialects of the same language group, such usages were at once different and alike. And the later unified rite can be compared to the standardized literary language that often evolves, political and cultural circumstances permitting, in the later history of such a language group.

Furthermore, it seems almost another "liturgical law" one could add to Baumstark's famous list[79] that whatever is considered most "characteristic," liturgically, of some service, feast, or tradition, is not one of its pristine elements! Good Friday Presanctified in Rome; the Holy Thursday "Mass of the Lord's Supper" everywhere; the enclosed, tripartite sanctuary of the Byzantine Rite; are all innovations with respect to earlier usage. Some of them, like Holy Thursday eucharist, were vigorously opposed as unthinkable novelties when first introduced.

We have seen this "law," too, exemplified here. Contrary to what is said about the historicizing and mimetic character of Byzantine Holy Week services—and, indeed, of Holy Week liturgies in general since Egeria[80]—evidence shows that the two original components of today's Byzantine Triduum offices, the lections and poetic chants, are firmly anchored in anamnesis, and indeed, one that is neither mimetic nor historicizing. For its Constantinopolitan form, unlike the Jerusalem sources, has no concern for the historical sequence of events, and even in

its later Byzantine-hagiopolite synthesis, blithely ignores Passion chronology. Furthermore, today's mimetic elements are so late as to be almost modern.

But what is the point of all this, the pragmatist will ask? For the historian, of course, the point is simply knowledge itself, knowledge which leads to understanding. But understanding how our liturgies got the way they are is not just a knowledge of the past. It is an understanding of our present heritage, of who gave it to us, and of what we have done with it. If that is not worth knowing, then I do not know why we run schools.

But in addition, such knowledge is also relevant for what we do. Lenin's famous question, "*Chto delat*—What is to be done?"[81] is, after all, the fundamental question of the practical intellect, and deserves an answer. For Christian historical scholarship in the service of the church is, for me at least, a ministry with direct, practical import.[82]

Now anyone who has experienced the Byzantine Holy Week Triduum in its present form requires no great perspicacity to perceive the need for a reform of its lection system. But how? There are at least two ways of proceeding. The all-too-common way, arbitrarily, is the route taken by those unwilling to do the hard work needed to find a better basis: anyone can just cut short the existing lections or suppress a few of them. A second possibility is to proceed on the basis of an understanding of how things got the way they are. I believe such knowledge is not only useful, but essential. As Fr. Talley said so trenchantly:

> Our current discussions of pastoral praxis, of theological meaning, of spirituality, and of much more rest finally on the assumption that we know what we are talking about; and to know what we are talking about demands much more than can be generated by a mere creativity operating on data drawn only from the experience of itself.[83]

In our paradigm, the Byzantine Triduum, such an understanding will show that the problem is not simply one of too many or too lengthy pericopes. The actual Byzantine Triduum lectionary presents us with an interference of two distinct lection systems based on two opposing formative principles. The Constantinopolitan system was unitary, concentrating the entire Passion anamnesis in the lessons of a single service, Good Friday vespers. The Jerusalem system was sequential, distributing the readings throughout the Triduum according to the presumed chronological sequence of the historical Passion as narrated in the gospels.[84] Today's combination of the two systems in a single lection series that is neither sequential nor unitary creates a hodgepodge that accords with neither organizational principle.

Such understanding does not, of course, provide a solution. But it does isolate the real problem and its causes. Is not such diagnosis the usual point at which the *intelligent* solution to a problem begins?

Notes

List of Abbreviations

De ceremoniis, see Vogt.

GCS = Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei christlichen Jahrhunderte (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs).

Horologion = La prière des heures: *Horologion*, La prière des églises de rite byzantin 1 (Chevetogne: Ed. de Chevetogne, 1975).

Janeras, "Vangeli" = S. Janeras, "I vangeli domenicali della resurrezione nelle tradizioni liturgiche agiopolita e bizantina," in G. Farnedi, ed. *Paschale mysterium. Studi in memoria dell'Abate Prof. Salvatore Marsili (1910 - 1983)*, Analecta Liturgica 10 = Studia Anselmiana 91 (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1986) 55-69.

Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* = Id., *Le Vendredi-Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine. Structure et histoire de ses offices*, Analecta Liturgica 13 = Studia Anselmiana 99 (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1988).

Janeras, "Vespres" = Id., "Les vespres del Divendres Sant en la tradició litúrgica de Jerusalem i de Constantinoble," *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 7 (1982) 187-234.

Lenten Triodion = *The Lenten Triodion*, Mother Mary and K. Ware, trans. (London & Boston: Faber & Faber, 1978).

Mateos, *Typicon* I-II = J. Mateos, ed., *Le Typicon de la Grande église. Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, X siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, 2 vols., OCA 165-166 (Rome: PIO, 1962-1963).

OC = *Oriens Christianus*.

OCA = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (PIO).

OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (PIO).

Pallas = D.I. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus—das Bild*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 2 (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität, 1965).

PG = J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Graeca*.

PIO = Pontificio Istituto Orientale (Rome).

PK = A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *Analekta hierosolymitikes stachyologias* II (St. Petersburg: B. Kirschbaum, 1894).

PO = *Patrologia Orientalis*.

PO 36 = A.(C.) Renoux, ed., *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, II. *Edition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits*, PO 36.2 = no. 168 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971) 139-388.

Taft, *Beyond East and West* = R. Taft, *Beyond East and West. Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1984).

Taft, "Bibliography" = id., "Select Bibliography on the Byzantine Liturgy of

the Hours," OCP 48 (1982) 358-370.

Taft, *Hours* = id., *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986).

Taft, "Mt. Athos" = id., "Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 (1988) in press.

Tarchnischvili = M. Tarchnischvili (ed.), *Le grande lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem (V-VIII siècle)*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 188-189, 204-205 = Scriptores Iberici 9-10, 13-14, (Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1959-1960).

Triodion = *Triodion katanyktikon* (Rome, 1879).

Vogt = Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le livre des cérémonies*. Texte établi et traduit par A. Vogt, I-II (Paris: Société d'Editions "Les belles lettres," 1935, 1939).

1. Roughly from the Turkish occupation of Asia Minor in the 1170s until the Fall of Constantinople in 1453.

2. For the Roman Rite, several general studies are available: E. Bishop, "The Genius of the Roman Rite," id., *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918) 1-19; Th. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1979); S.J.P. van Dijk and D.J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (Westminster Md.-London, 1960). There is no complete overview of the Byzantine Rite, but see: M. Arranz, "Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie," in *Liturgie de l'église particulière, liturgie de l'église universelle*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgica, Subsidia 7, (Rome, 1976) 43-72; N. Egender, "Introduction," *Horologion* 25-56; Taft, "Mt. Athos."

3. *Diary* 30-38, Egérie, *Journal de voyage* (Itinéraire), P. Maraval, ed., Sources chrétiennes 296 (Paris, 1982) 270-291.

4. Basic for the relationship between these two liturgical centers is A. Baumstark, "Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus," OC ser. 3, 2 (1927) 1-32; id., "Die Heiligtümer des byzantinischen Jerusalems nach einer übersehenen Urkunde," OC 5 (1905) 227-289; A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Drevnejshie patriarshie tipikony svjatogrobskij ierusalimshij i Velikoj Konstantinopol'skoj Tserkvi. Kritiko-bibliograficheskoe izsledovanie* (Kiev, 1907).

5. E.g., the presence of the *Nemo dignus* and Prothesis prayers: B.-Ch. Mercier, ed., *La liturgie de S. Jacques. Edition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine*, PO 26.2 (Paris, 1946) 178:25-180:22 (sigl. H).

6. Seen in Mateos, *Typicon* I-II. See H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris, *Acta Sanctorum* XI (Brussels, 1902); A. Ehrhard, *Ueberlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* I-III.1, Texte und Untersuchungen 50-53, (Leipzig, 1936-1943), III.2 (Berlin, 1952) esp. I, 28-33; S.A. Morcelli, *Menologion ton Euangelion Heortastikon sive Kalendarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Rome, 1788).

7. Mateos, *Typicon* I-II and the references in notes 48-49 below. On the development of the Byzantine lectionary, see also, inter alia, Y. Burns, "The Greek Manuscripts Connected by their Lection System with the Palestinian Syriac Gospel Lectionaries," *Studia Biblica* 2, Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement, Series 2 (Sheffield, 1980) 13-28; id., "The Historical Events that Occasioned the Inception of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionaries," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32.4 (1982) 119-127; N. Dragomir, "Studiu istorico-litugic privind tentele biblice din cărţile de cult ale Bisericii Ortodoxe," *Studii teologice* 23 (1981) 207-268; P.-M. Gy, "La question du système des lectures de la liturgie byzantine," *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di S.E.G. Lercaro* (Rome, 1967) II, 251-261; K. Junak, "Zu den griechischen Lektionaren und ihrer Ueberlieferung der Katholischen Briefe," in K. Aland, ed., *Die alten Uebersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, Arbeiten zur neutestimentlichen Forschung, Bd. 5 (Berlin/N.Y., 1972) 498-591; B. Metzger, "Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament," ibid. 479-497; A. Rahlfs, "Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche," *Nachrichten der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse* (1915) 28-136.

8. Overview and further bibliography in Taft, *Beyond East and West* 167-192; id., "The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34-35 (1980-1981) 45-75; H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy. Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression* (New York, 1986).

9. See M. Arranz, "Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain," OCP 48 (1982) 284-335; 49 (1983) 42-90, 284-302; 50 (1984) 43-64, 372-397; 51 (1985) 60-86; 52 (1986) 145-178; 53 (1987) 59-61 (to be continued).

10. See Taft, "Bibliography," sep. nos. 48-60, 80-81, 104.

11. Ibid. nos. 3, 9, 19, 24-26, 79.

12. See H.-G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich, 1978) 210-211.

13. See J. Leroy, "La réforme studite," *Il monachesimo orientale*, OCA 153 (Rome, 1958) 181-214; other studies in Taft, "Bibliography" nos. 7-8, 16-18, 20-21.

14. On Saint Sabas and monasticism in Palestine, see A. Ehrhard, "Das griechische Kloster Mar-Saba in Palästina: seine Geschichte und seine literarischen Denkmäler," *Römische Quartalschrift* 7 (1893) 32-79; D.J. Chitty, *The Desert a City. An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Crestwood, NY, n.d.) esp. chaps. 5-6.

15. *Ep. II, 15*, PG 99, 1160-1164; see *Ep. II, 16*, PG 99, 1164-1168. See N. Egender, "Introduction," *Horologion* 36.

16. On this office, in addition to the numerous studies listed in Taft, "Bibliography;" see id., *Hours*, ch. 17 and the bibliography, 384-387; id. "Mt. Athos."

17. On all these later developments, see Taft, "Mt. Athos."

18. Greek text in *Triodion* 665-736; English trans. in *Lenten Triodion* 565-655; French in D. Guillaume, *Triode de carême*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1978) 182-353. For those not familiar with the terminology and ordinary structure of these Byzantine hours, an outline is given in Taft, *Hours* 278-282; *Horologion* 141, 374-375, which also has a glossary of terms, 501-519.

19. The earliest evidence of a "liturgicizing" of Holy Week appears in the fourth century, when we see some churches open the Triduum with a Passion Vigil Holy Thursday night, in addition to the Easter Vigil. See Eusebius, *Church History* II, 17:21-22, E. Schwartz, ed. GCS 9.1 = *Eusebius* 2.1 (Leipzig 1903) 152; Epiphanius (ca. 377), *De Fide* 22:12-14, K. Holl, ed. GCS 37 = *Epiphanius* 3 (Leipzig

1933) 523-524.

20. Mateos, *Typicon* II, 72-91.

21. On the Pannychis of Constantinople, see ibid. 311; M. Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales de la 'Pannychis' de l'ancien euchologe byzantin et la 'Panikhida' des défunts," OCP 40 (1974) 314-343.

22. Also called Trithekte, a peculiar Constantinopolitan fast-day office said between the third and sixth hours. See Mateos, *Typicon* II, 323; M. Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales de la Tritoekt de l'ancien euchologe byzantin," OCP 43 (1977) 70-93, 335-354.

23. On Good Friday Presanctified, originally celebrated in Constantinople but later suppressed with the adoption of the hagiopolite Holy Week offices, see Janeras, "Vespres" 212-226; id., *Vendredi-Saint* 369-388.

24. Mateos, *Typicon* II, 72-73, 78-79; *De Ceremoniis* I, 43 (34), ed. Vogt I, 168. Sources from the ninth century and later speak only of this extra-liturgical veneration of the Passion relics preserved in the capital. For a time, however, in the second half of the seventh century, there was also a veneration of the relic of the true cross in Hagia Sophia. Arculf describes it ca. 670 in L. Bieler, ed., *Adamnani de Locis Sanctis Libri Tres*, II, 3:5-10, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 175, (Turnhout, 1965) 228. According to tradition the cross relic was brought to Constantinople from Jerusalem by Heraclius, in 635, just before the fall of the Holy City to the Arabs the following year. See A. Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur la développement d'un culte*, Archives de l'Orient chrétien 7 (Paris, 1965) 73ff. Shortly before, Heraclius had recuperated the cross abducted by the Persians in 614, and returned it to Jerusalem in 631. See V.G. Grumel, "La reposition de la vraie croix à Jérusalem par Héraclius. Le jour et l'année," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 1 (1966) 139-149. But by the ninth century, when we first have substantial evidence of the Holy Week ritual of the Great Church, there is no longer any mention of the cross among the Passion relics venerated during the Triduum. Abundant later evidence of the Constantinopolitan Passion relics in G.P. Majeska, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 19, (Washington, D.C., 1984) 2, 28-31, 34-37, 44-45, 132-133, 138-141, 160-161, 182-183, 186-191, 216-218, 343-344, 368-370, 378.

25. Mateos, *Typicon* II, 78-79; Arranz, "Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain (5)," OCP 50 (1984) 372-397. The text of this rite from the oldest Byzantine liturgical ms, the mid-eighth-century codex *Barberini Gr. 336*, is given in J. Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum* ... (2d ed. Venice, 1730; repr. Graz, 1960) 279-281; and in F. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905) 438-442.

26. Mateos, *Typicon* II, 72-73.

27. Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 109. I am grateful to Dr. Janeras for providing me with a copy of this excellent study even before it appeared in print. See also his "Vespres" 214, and "Vangeli" 67 note 41. I depend largely on Janeras' definitive work for what I say below about the Good Friday offices.

28. Undoubtedly because it was read as part of the Johannine *Bahnlesung* between Ascension and Pentecost: Mateos, *Typicon* II, 128-135; see Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 109, 151-152.

29. See note 24 above.

30. *Vendrei-Saint* 151-152.

31. Mateos, *Typicon* II, 72-77.

32. Compare the preceding and following Old Testament lections in ibid. 68ff, 80-81.

33. Compare ibid. 80-81, with *Triodion* 704-707, or *Lenten Triodion* 613-614.

34. F.C. Burkitt, "The Early Syriac Lectionary System," *Proceedings of the British Academy 1921-1923* 11 (1923) 309; PO 36, 287; see Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 348-349.

35. Mateos, *Typicon* II, 68ff, 80-81; see Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 348.

36. Mateos, *Typicon* II 82-85.

37. Ibid. 76-77.

38. Ibid. 76 apparatus 19, and 79 note 1.

39. See note 21 above.

40. *Typicon* II, 79 note 1.

41. *Vendredi-Saint* 109-111, 119-124.

42. This has been done by Janeras in *Vendredi-Saint*. See also his "Vespres" and "Vangeli."

43. Ed. Renoux, PO 26.

44. Ed. Tarchnischvili.

45. Ed. PK 1-254. On this much-studied manuscript, see Baumstark, "Die Heiligtümer" (note 4 above), and G. Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church*, OCA 193, (Rome, 1972) 12-18. Corrections to the PK edition are given in Dmitrievskij, *Drevnejshie patriarshie tipikony* (note 4 above) 11-60. Dmitrievskij's earlier edition of this manuscript with facing Russian translation, based on an 1804 copy (see Bertonière 12 note 25), is given in his *Bogosluzhenie strastnoj i paskhalnoj sedmits vo sv. Ierusalime IX-X v.* (Kazan, 1894). Older studies on Good Friday in this manuscript have been superceded by those of Janeras cited above.

46. Ed. Mateos, *Typicon* I-II.

47. See C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1900, 1902, 1909); Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 109-113; id., "Vangeli" 66-68, with the references given there in note 44.

48. Ed. C. Hoeg, G. Zuntz, *Prophetologium*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Lectionaria, vol. I, part 1, facs. 1-6 (Copenhagen, 1939-1970); ibid. vol.II, part 2, ed. G. Engberg (Copenhagen, 1980-1981). Vols. 1, facs. 4 (1960) and 5 (1962) contain the Triduum lections. On this lectionary, see C. Hoeg, G. Zuntz, "Remarks on the Prophetologion," in R.P. Casey, S. Lake, A.K. Lake, eds., *Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to K. Lake* (London, 1937) 189-226; G. Zuntz, "Das byzantinische Septuaginta-Lektionar ('Prophetologion')," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 17 (1956) 183-198.

49. On hymnody see the studies in Taft, "Bibliography" nos. 114-152; see C. Hannick, "Le texte de l'Oktoechos," *Dimanche. Office selon les huit tons: Oktoechos*, vol. 3 of *La prière des églises de rite byzantine* (Chevetogne, 1972) 37-60.

50. For the texts and terminology, see the references in note 18 above.

51. PK, 116-147.

52. Loc. cit.
53. Mateos, *Typicon* II, 76-79.
54. *Triodion* 665-680; *Lenten Triodion* 565-600.
55. PO 36, 269-281; Tarchnischvili nos. 642-664.
56. *Vendredi-Saint* 109-113, 120-124.
57. PO 36, 269-281; see Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 97-98.
58. PK 147-152.
59. PO 36, 295.
60. Tarchnischvili no. 707.
61. PK 177.
62. PK 154.
63. Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 112.
64. On the later addition of gospel 12, see ibid. 98-100; id., "Vangeli" 66-68.
65. Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 110, 120-124. On Tritoekte see note 22 above.
66. Ibid. 92.
67. Compare *Triodion* 702-709 (*Lenten Triodion* 613-614), PK 158-159, Mateos, *Typicon* II, 80-81. I say "almost intact" because in *Stavrou 43* lection 3 is abbreviated to Is 52:13-53:12 instead of extending to 54:1 as in Constantinopolitan usage. On the gospel lections in *Stavrou 43*, see Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 348-350; id., "Vespres" 204-205.
68. Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 348-350. In the pure tradition of old Constantinople, cathedral vespers has none of this Sabaitic vesperal material (Invitatory Psalm 103 [104], *Phos hilaron, Kataxioson*). There, vespers began with the Invitatory Psalm 85, followed by one evening psalm only, Psalm 140, the entrance of the patriarch, lections with Prokeimena (responsorial psalmody), the Great Ektene (litany), and, on Good Friday, the Presanctified Liturgy. See Mateos, *Typicon* II, 312-314; Hoeg, Zuntz, Engberg, *Prophetologium* (note 48 above) I, 401-409; codex *Sinai Gr. 150* (10-11th c.), A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisej khranjashchikhsja v bibliotekakh pravoslavnago vostoka*, I-II (Kiev, 1895, 1901), III (Petrograd, 1917; all 3 vols. repr. Hildesheim, 1965) I, 191-192; see Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 355-357; id., "Vespres" 212-218.
69. PO 36, 375; Tarchnischvili no. 702.
70. Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* 349-350.
71. R. Taft, "'In the Bridegroom's Absence.' The Paschal Triduum in the Byzantine Church," to be published in Analecta Liturgica = Studia Anselmiana (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo).
72. Mateos, *Typicon* I, xxiii.
73. Ibid. II, 82-83, see 312.
74. Pallas 40-41.
75. M. Lisitsyn, *Pervonachal'nyj slavjano-russkij tipikon* (St. Petersburg: Tipografia Smirnov, 1911) 150-151; see Pallas 42.
76. *Vendredi-Saint* 401.
77. *Triodion* 707, 709.
78. A. Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy* (Westminster, MD, 1958) 15-19, and earlier, in id., *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*, Ecclesia Orans 10 (Freiburg im Br., 1923) ch. 5; against F. Probst, *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte* (Tübingen, 1870); id., *Liturgie des 4. Jahrhunderts und deren Reform* (Münster, 1892).

79. *Comparative Liturgy* 15-30.
80. On this question see Taft, *Beyond East and West*, ch. 2.
81. Actually, Lenin got the title of his tract (1901-1902) from the Russian socialist Nikolaj G. Chernyshevskij (1828-1889), who wrote a utopian novel by that name (1862-1863).
82. See R. Taft, "Response to the Berakah Award: Anamnesis," *Worship* 59 (1985) 311-314.
83. "Introduction," Taft, *Beyond East and West* vii.
84. Of course, modern New Testament scholars have taught us that there is no "chronological order" in the gospels: see D.M. Stanley, *"I Encountered God!" The Spiritual Exercises with the Gospel of Saint John* (St. Louis, 1986) 176. But the Byzantines entertained no such notion.

VII

Some Notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Traditions

Since the publication of H. C. Butler's *Early Churches of Syria* (Princeton, 1929), archeologists and liturgiologists have shown considerable interest in certain peculiarities in the liturgical disposition of a number of ancient churches in North Syria (1).

(1) A partial list of recent works dealing with this problem would include: H. C. BUTLER, *Early Churches of Syria*, Princeton, 1929, and *Syria, Publications of the Princeton University Archeological Expedition to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909*, Division II, Section B, Leyden, 1920; R. COQUIN, *Le "bima" des Églises syriennes*, *L'Orient Syrien*, 10, 1965, 443-447; J. DAUVILLIER, *L'ambon ou bêmâ dans les textes de l'Église chaldéenne et de l'Église syrienne au moyen âge*, *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 6, 1952, 11-30; J. M. FIEY, *Mossoul Chrétienne*, Beyrouth, n.d. (FIEY refers to many Arabic sources which we have been unable to consult); GRABAR, *Les ambons syriens et la fonction liturgique de la nef dans les églises antiques*, *Cah. Arch.*, 1, 1945, 129-233; E. R. HAMBYE, *Les chrétiens syro-malabares et le "bima"*, *L'Or. Syr.*, 12, 1967, 83-107, and *Les traces liturgiques de l'usage du "bêma" dans la liturgie de l'Église chaldéo-malabare*, *Mélanges de l'Université de S. Joseph* (Beyrouth), 39, 1963, 199-207; D. HICKLEY, *The Ambo in Early Liturgical Planning — A Study with Special Reference to the Syrian Bema*, *Heythrop Journal*, 7, 1966, 407-427; P. HINDO, *Disciplina antiochena antica*, *Siri*, tom. iv: *Lieux et temps sacrés*, etc. (*Fonti Codif. canon. orient.* ser. II, fasc. 28) Rome, 1943, especially the chapter by P. MARX, *Les églises paléochrétiennes de la Syrie*, pp. 13-58; V. JANERAS, *Vestiges du bima syrien dans les traditions liturgiques autres que syriennes*, *l'Or. Syr.*, 8, 1963, 121-129; J. JARRY, *L'ambon dans la liturgie primitive de l'Église*, *Syria*, 40, 1963, 147-162; J. LASSUS, *Antioch on the Orontes. The Excavations 1933-1936*, Princeton, 1939; *La liturgie dans les basiliques syriennes*, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 8, 1953, 418-428; *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales et églises syriennes antiques*, *Révue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 137, 1950, 236-252; *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, Paris, 1947; *Syrie*, *DACL* XV², col. 1855-1942; LASSUS and G. TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, *Cah. Arch.* 5, 1951, 75-122; T. MATHEWS, *P. Bouyer on Sacred Space: a Re-appraisal*, *Downside Review*, 82, 1964, 111-123; U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Le chiese della Mesopotamia*, Roma, 1940; R. MOUTERDE et A. POIDEBARD, *Le limes de Chalcis*, Paris, 1945; A. RAES, *La liturgie eucharistique en orient. Son cadre architectural*, *La Maison Dieu* 70, 1962, 49-66; A. M. SCHNEIDER, *Liturgie und Kirchenbau in Syrien*, *Nachrichten der Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, no. 3, Jan. 1949, 1-68; G. TCHALENKO, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, 3 vols., Paris, 1953-58.

L. Bouyer even goes so far as to claim that what is now generally accepted as the "Syrian arrangement" was formerly that of the Byzantine rite as well (1). Because of the importance of this question for the history of worship, it might be profitable to review the archeological and liturgical evidence.

The most common solution to the problem of church arrangement in both East and West was to place the seats for the clergy in an apse at one end — usually the east — of the church. Before the clergy, at the beginning of the nave (or in the transept, or in the apse itself, depending on the architecture of the church) stood the altar. Beyond, further into the nave, stood the ambon or ambons for the psalmody and readings. The congregation occupied, it seems, not so much the central nave as today, but the side naves, thus leaving the center of the church free for processions and other comings and goings of the ministers demanded by the various rites (2).

But modern archeological discoveries have shown that two areas of early Christianity followed a plan of their own: North Africa, and parts of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. In some of the great basilicas of Roman Africa, the altar was located deep in the nave. The apse was reserved, as usual, for the clergy, and it was probably from the apse that the readings were read and the homily preached (3). In the Syrian plan, which is our

(1) L. BOUYER, *Rite and Man*, London, 1963, pp. 180-181. J. MATEOS S. J., accepted this opinion in *The Evolution of the Byzantine Liturgy*, *John XXIII Lectures*, I, New York, 1966, p. 77.

(2) Cf. GRABAR, *Les ambons syriens*.

(3) On the African arrangement, see MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Chiese*, p. 40; GSELL, *Monuments antiques d'Algérie*, Paris, 1913; R. CAGNAT, and P. GAUCKLER, *Les monuments antiques de la Tunisie*, Paris, 1898. Some illustrations of basilicas built on this plan are given in F. VAN DE MEER and C. MOHRMANN, *Atlas of the Early Christian World*, London, 1966, pp. 354-55. The author has had the opportunity to examine some of these churches personally.

Bema sites in Syria indicated by small black lozenge. The shaded area indicates the North-Syrian limestone massif. Map adapted from G. Tchalenko, E. Baccache, *Églises de village de la Syrie du Nord. Planches* (Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient, Beyrouth-Damas-Amman, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Tome CV, Documents d'archéologie: La Syrie à l'époque de l'Empire romain d'Orient, N° 1, Paris 1979) plate 1.

* For plan of Bema see end of chapter.

main interest here, the disposition of the church was the exact opposite.

In the beginning of our century, H. C. Butler discovered in the villages of North Syria several churches with a curious structure in the middle of the nave. What he unearthed turned out to be the remains, in some instances more or less intact, of a large walled-in, U-shaped platform. Later excavations have filled in the details of this choir-like enclosure (1). On the platform, along the interior of the wall, ran a curved sedilia much like the synthronon found along the curved wall of the apse in many ancient basilicas. Into the axis of the curved west end of the enclosure (i.e. toward the rear of the church), in the center of the synthronon where one would normally expect to find the episcopal throne, was built a stone pulpit or lectern which has been the object of considerable speculation. We shall return to it later. Access to the platform was through an opening — in some instances a chancel — in the flat or east end of the "U", facing the sanctuary. Steps (2, 3, or 4) led from the nave to the entrance, and in some churches there was a small vestibule between the entrance and the main platform, lower than the floor of the platform itself, but above the level of the nave. In two churches, Beḥyō and Reṣāfe, the remains of a ciborium were found on the bema in front of the sedilia in much the same position as the traditional altar ciborium before the sedilia in the apse. Thus the whole structure was not unlike a low-walled, roofless apse, transported to the middle of the church and turned around to face east.

At first the archeologists interpreted these remains in various ways, some of them imaginative, most of them wrong. At present, since the more recent studies of Lassus and Tchalenko and a closer analysis of the liturgical evidence, all scholars agree in identifying this exedra with the bema of which various liturgical texts and commentaries of both Syrian traditions, especially the Eastern, speak (2). This conclusion is correct. The structure is

(1) For the works of BUTLER, see note 1, p. 326. The most detailed study of the N.-Syrian bema, with illustrations, dimensions, etc. is LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*. See also the excellent illustrations in TCHALENKO, *Villages*, vol. 2, Pl. IX-XIII, CIII-CXIII.

(2) This identification was proposed by J.-B. CHABOT. *L'Architecture gréco-syrienne*, *Journal des Savants*, 1914, pp. 436-442, and has been accepted by LASSUS, *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 242, SCHNEIDER,

clearly a bema. But this is the beginning, not the end, of the problem. And in attempting to explain how this bema was used in the liturgy, and to what extent such an exedra was common in the West-Syrian tradition, one must not draw conclusions that are too general, or that go beyond an accurate reading of the liturgical and archeological evidence.

We are not convinced that one is always safe in interpreting West-Syrian archeological remains in the light of Nestorian liturgical commentaries (1). Nor can one infer that whenever West-Syrian sources refer to a bema, they mean an exedra similar in shape and function to the East-Syrian bema. For more than one Syrian text uses " bema " to refer to an ambon of the Byzantine type, and almost all West-Syrian literary sources could, as we shall see, be read in this way.

The East-Syrian Bema.

Let us examine first the Nestorian tradition, where the evidence is less confusing. There are only two sites in Mesopotamia, Ctesiphon and al-Ḥira, where the remains of early Nestorian churches have been uncovered. And only two of them, both in al-Ḥira, contain the remains of a bema. These bemas have not yet been carefully excavated and studied. But the one in the church of tell XI seems to have been a walled platform set between four of the columns of the central nave, the walls of the bema going from column to column. The west wall is straight and extends beyond the columns into the side naves to form the wall that divides the church into sections for the men and the women. The north and south walls bulge outward, and there were benches built along the inside of these walls. The east wall is straight, pierced by an opening, and two steps lead up from the floor of the nave to this entrance (2).

Liturgie u. Kirchenbau, p. 53. etc. For earlier interpretations, see LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*, p. 208.

(1) We believe that LASSUS and HICKLEY sometimes push this parallelism too far. Cf. *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales* p. 242; *Ambo*, p. 416.

(2) MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Chiese*, p. 39 and fig. 31-32; FIEY, *Mossoul chrétienne*, p. 76. The Cathedral of Kōkē in Ctesiphon also had a bema. According to W. Macomber, S. J. of Al-Hikma University, Baghdad, MS Seert 58 (Chaldean funeral rites) shows that this bema had 5 steps. On Kōkē, cf. also FIEY, *Topographie chrétienne de Mahozé, l'Or. Syrien*, 12, 1967, 399-400; 403-406.

The archeological evidence is thus quite slim, but not negative. And the liturgical evidence for the existence and precise liturgical use of the bema in the Nestorian tradition is strong enough to be conclusive (1).

The oldest reference to the bema, from the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (410), states that " On Sunday, in the presence of the bishop, the archdeacon will proclaim the kārōzūṯā [= proclamation, litany] in the bema of the kārōzūṯā of the deacons, and he will read the gospel " (2). The bishop is seated on his throne, the location of which is not indicated. The " apostle " is also read on the bema (3).

Earlier Chaldean documents are silent on the subject of the bema, but the Synod of 410 does not speak of it as if it were an innovation. There is no indication that this bema was any more than an ambon from which the litanies and lessons were chanted, and nothing is said about its location in the church. But there is also no evidence to indicate that the East Syrians ever used an arrangement of the Byzantine type (ambon in the nave, throne and synthronon in the apse). And all later evidence points to the

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(1) In addition to the major sources discussed below, we have also consulted: *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* († 502), R. H. CONNOLLY ed., *Texts and Studies* VIII, 1, 1916. Homily 17 A (pp. 4-5) speaks of the procession into the sanctuary, hence from the bema, before the creed; 'Abdīšō († 986), *Ordo Judiciorum Ecclesiasticorum*, tract. VI, iii (ed. J.-M. VOSTÉ, *Fonti Codif. Canon. Orient.* ser. II, fasc. 15, Roma, 1940, p. 113), which merely mentions the bema, with Golgotha, in the center of the church; *The Historia Monastica of Thomas of Marga* (9th cent.) in E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Book of Governors*, London, 1893, vol. 1, p. 306, vol. 2, p. 543 (translation) which gives a full description of the church, though BUDGE misinterprets it (cf. SCHNEIDER, *Liturgie u. Kirchenbau*, p. 53 n. 41). The *Historia Monastica* calls the šqāqōnā " šbīlā ". W. C. VAN UNNIK, *Nestorian Questions on the Administration of the Eucharist by Isho 'Yahb IV* (c. 1010), Haarlem, 1937, p. 180, also refers to the bema and the Golgotha altar. For a study of the bema and the liturgy, see also the article of DAUVILLIER above, note 1, p. 326.

(2) J.-B. CHABOT, *Synodicon Orientale*, Paris, 1902, p. 28 [267]. For other minor references to the bema in Nestorian canonical literature, cf. the index in CHABOT.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 28 [268].

bema as that large construction with throne, sedilia, altar and pulpits, located in the center of the nave, which later commentators have described.

This traditional Nestorian bema is often referred to by the commentators Gabriel Qatraya (c. 615) (1) and Abraham bar Lipeh (7th c.), and is described fully in the later *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio* (9th c.) attributed to George of Arbela (2), the last Nestorian commentary to speak of the bema as still in use. According to the author of the *Expositio*, who claims to be following the liturgical prescriptions of Katholikoi Išo'yahb III († c. 660) and Timothy I († 823), the typical Nestorian church was disposed as follows (3). The building was oriented, and was entered through two doors in the south wall, the door of the temple and the door of the women (I, 112-113 [90], 116 [93], II, 79-80 [73]). The nave was divided by a low wall (4) into two sections, one to the east for the men, the back end of the church for the women. The door of the temple, the main entrance of the building, led into the area reserved for the men; the other door was used by the women to enter their more humble preserve in the house of God of those times.

(1) The commentary of *Qatraya*, a teacher at the theological school of Seleucia, has never been published. It is being edited at present by S. H. Jammo with the collaboration of J. Mateos, Cf. JAMMO, *Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire sur la liturgie chaldéenne, Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 32, 1966, 39-52; *L'office du soir chaldéen au temps de Gabriel Qatraya, L'Or. Syr.*, 12, 1967, 187-210. We are following the opinion of Jammo for the dates of these commentaries.

(2) R. H. CONNOLLY, ed., *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta, accedit Abrahae Bar Lipae Interpretatio Officiorum*, *CSCO* 64, Paris-Leipzig, 1911-1915. For convenience, we shall refer to the 2 vols. (91-92) as I-II, and references to the *versio* will be enclosed in brackets.

(3) The description of the church is found in I, 112-116 [90-93]. The author himself admits that not all churches are as he describes; he is giving an ideal schema (I, 113 [90]).

(4) The commentary does not speak of a wall, but refers to the 2 parts of the nave as clearly separated. The church of tell XI, al-Ḥira, had a wall (cf. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Chiese*, p. 39 and fig. 31), and 'ABDIŠŌ (ed. Vosté, p. 113) says that the bema is in the middle of the church "so that there might be a separation between the men and women". This fits very well the bema of tell XI, which is built right into the wall that divides the nave.

The east end of the church was walled in and divided into three chambers: in the center, the apse or sanctuary; to the north the diaconicon or sacristy; to the south the baptistry (1). Lesser doors connected the sacristy and baptistry to the nave, and the sacristy to the apse. The sanctuary was raised above the level of the nave, and was entered through a great central door and to one side, it would seem, another lesser door (2). Before the sanctuary doors a platform, the qesṭrōmā, extended out into the nave. From the center of this platform, before the central door, a narrow pathway, the bēt-šqāqōnā, extended down the center of the nave to connect the qesṭrōmā to the bema.

There is some confusion as to exactly what this pathway was. From the text of the commentary (I, 114-115 [91]) it seems that it extended from the bema right up to the apse. But if the bema was usually built as in al-Ḥira (3), with its back to the wall between the men's nave and the gynecaeum, the šqāqōnā would divide the eastern part of the nave in two and cut off access to the north aisle. On the basis of archeological evidence (4), and because it is common sense not to cut off the north aisle of the nave, Fiey limits the šqāqōnā to a narrow, elevated walk leading only part of the distance to the bema, thus permitting passage in front of the bema into the north aisle (5). But perhaps another solution is possible. There is nothing in the text to indicate that the pathway is elevated above the floor of the nave. And the rather cryptic reference to three doors in the pathway, one

(1) We use the term "apse" without implying that it was rounded or projected beyond the east wall of the building. The location of baptistry and diaconicon is not too clear, but from the description of the liturgy it is obvious that the diaconicon could be entered from the sanctuary. We have rejected CONNOLLY's plan (I, 196) in favor of FIEY's (*Mossoul*, pp. 72, 80-81 and Pl. II). See also I, 113 [90], II, 16 [17], 35 [35].

(2) CONNOLLY (I, 196) does not include this door in his plan. FIEY does (*Mossoul*, p. 80 and Pl. II), though with some hesitation, because it is not found in any existing church. The text of the commentary seems to require this door (II, 9-10 [12], 12-17 [14-17]). See also LASSUS, *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 240, n. 1.

(3) Cf. note 4 on preceding page.

(4) The churches of al-Ḥira have only an extended step jutting out from the qestrōmā. See MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Chiese*, fig. 31-32.

(5) FIEY, *Mossoul*, pp. 75-76.

for the apse, one for the bema, and one in the middle (I, 115 [92]), could be interpreted as meaning that the pathway was bordered by a low wall open at each end to permit access to bema and sanctuary, and broken in the center to permit access across it to the northern part of the nave (1). The step leading off the qeṣṭrōmā into the passage could be longer or shorter depending on the whim of the architect. At any rate it seems out of the question, as Fiey points out, that the nave was divided as in Connolly's reconstruction (I, 196), forcing men to enter by their door, then pass behind the bema through the women's section in order to reach the north aisle. Also, the pathway of the *Expositio* with its three doors may be an elaboration for large cathedral churches, and in smaller churches the šqāqōnā may have been no more than the space between the steps leading up to the qeṣṭrōmā and those of the bema. It is fruitless to seek an exact correspondence between an idealized liturgical commentary and the archeological remains. The general disposition of the church is clear. Whether this or that church had a greater or smaller bema, a longer or shorter šqāqōnā with or without walls, is merely an indication of the inevitable variation within a general liturgical format.

According to the *Expositio*, the bema itself stood in the middle of the church (I, 114 [91]), and was a relatively large, elevated platform facing the sanctuary (2). It contained the bishop's throne — of its location the commentary says only that it faced east —, in the center an altar called " Golgotha " for the gospel and

(1) Ibn Ğarīr of Tikrit (cf. *infra*, p. 353) refers to the walls of the šqāqōnā, each one pierced by an opening. If there were no walls, then the 3 doors would be the entrances to the bema, qeṣṭrōmā chancel, and sanctuary, and there would be no problem about free access to the north side of the nave. Cf. Lassus, *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 240. Perhaps the walls were a peculiarity of the tradition of Tikrit.

(2) There is no evidence that it was U-shaped like the N.-Syrian bema. Its size can be judged from the number of ministers it could hold; that it was elevated is seen in the frequent references to the ministers ascending to it (see the description of the liturgy below, (pp. 335-336). The *Expositio* (II, 16-17 [18]) says there were 2 sets of stairs for the readers. These stairs are found only on the bema of St. Sergius in Reṣāfe, which Coquin mistakenly refers to as a Nestorian church (*Le " bîma "*, p. 450). Fiey (*Mossoul*, p. 77) considers these stairs a fancy of the author of the *Expositio*. Cf. also Lassus, *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 243)

cross, and " to the right and left " (I, 114 [91]) two elevated pulpits of equal height for the readings of the Old and New Testament (1). The commentary does not explicitly mention seats for the priests, but there are so many references to the priests sitting on the bema with the bishop that it is difficult to see why Fiey considers the benches on the bema in the church of tell XI in al-Ḥira a " *particularité* " and does not include them in his plan (2). It would be difficult to find an example of liturgical and archeological evidence coinciding more exactly. The texts do not speak of the Chaldean bema as being walled-in, but do refer to a " door " in the bema (II, 15 [16-17], 18 [19], 35 [35]), and the church of tell XI apparently had a wall on the bema (3).

The Use of the Bema in the East-Syrian Liturgy.

The Nestorian commentators have also provided us with a description of the liturgy sufficiently detailed to give a reasonably complete picture of the use of the bema in the Chaldean rite. Since this ceremonial has been rather fully and accurately described in previous studies (4), we will content ourselves with a very brief summary of the use of the bema in the eucharistic liturgy.

(1) The exact location of the pulpits is not clear. Connolly (I, 196) puts them at the NW and SW corners of the bema. Fiey (Pl. II) puts them to the NE and SE, which seems preferable. As Lassus has pointed out, this is where the shelves for the books are located in N.-Syrian bemas (*Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 245). The pulpits were elevated above the level of the bema platform, for the priest came down to put the gospel on Golgotha after the reading. (II, 27 [27-28]).

(2) Fiey, *Mossoul*, p. 76. For the bema of al-Ḥira, see p. 330, above. For the priests sitting on the bema, cf. *Expositio* II, 10 [12], 14-15 [16], 32 [33], 82 [75]; Bar Lipeh, *Interpretatio*, II, 172 [158], 175 [161], and Qatrava.

(3) The wall is part of the structure of the bema itself, not extraneous to it and surrounding it as in Connolly (I, 196). Lassus, *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 246, also rejects Connolly's wall.

(4) For a description of the use of the bema in the eucharistic liturgy, cf. *Expositio*, II, 7 [10]-40 [39]; *Interpretatio*, II, 171 [157] ff. This material has been summarized in Dauvillier, *L'ambon ou bêmâ*. In Qatrava's commentary the use of the bema is basically the same as in the *Expositio*, except that there is no mention of a deacon returning to the bema for the anaphora, nor of anyone receiving communion there.

It is evident from the layout of the Chaldean church — nave divided into two sections and obstructed in the middle by a large bema — that a processional introit through a door in the west wall and down the center of the nave to the sanctuary is out of the question in the East-Syrian tradition. And in fact, as we have seen, there was usually no entrance at all in the west wall (1). Nor does it appear that the clergy ordinarily made any processional entrance into the church. The description of the eucharistic liturgy begins with the clergy already in the sanctuary, and the introit procession does not go from nave to sanctuary, but the reverse, from the sanctuary to the bema in the nave (II, 7 [10] ff.). From this introit up until the rite of *accessus ad altare* after the gifts have been placed on the altar — i.e. during the entire liturgy of the Word— the concelebrants remain on the bema, where the readings, chants, litanies, lavabo, etc. take place.

When the gifts have been arranged on the altar, the bishop and priests descend from the bema and enter the sanctuary, where the rest of the liturgy is celebrated. But the deacons come out of the sanctuary to proclaim the diptychs, etc., and one of the two officiating deacons returns to the bema to direct the people during the anaphora, re-entering the sanctuary only at communion (II, 54-56 [52-53], 60 [56], 62 [58], 69-70 [64], 77 [71] ff.). At communion time the " vigilers " mount the bema to chant the communion antiphon, which is called even today the ʿōniṯā d-bēm (lit. " response of the bema ") (II, 85 [77-78]). The *Expositio* also states that in some places the priest brings communion to the clergy — it doesn't specify whom — remaining on the bema. This was prescribed by Išoʿyahb III, but the author states that it is not done everywhere (II, 88 [80]).

(1) Cf. FIEY, *Mossoul*, pp. 71-72. MONNERET DE VILLARD (*Chiese*, pp. 14 ff, 45, 48, 66) considers the placing of courtyard and doors along a lateral wall a Mesopotamian style resulting from Babylonian influence. LEROUX also appeals to the precedent of the Babylonian temple (*Les églises syriennes à portes latérales, Mélanges Holleaux*, Paris, 1913, p. 129). In some churches (now Jacobite) in the Tur Abdin, sanctuary and doors are along opposite lateral walls — i.e. the whole building is laterally oriented with its greatest axis N-S. This style is called " monastic " by POGNON, BELL, and others, a designation rejected by FIEY (pp. 90-92), who considers the lateral style Nestorian even though these churches are now in Jacobite hands. Cf. also note 2, below, p. 341.

From this brief study it is clear what an important place the bema had in the liturgy of the Nestorian church. When did the bema fall into disuse? Perhaps in the 14th century, after the Mongol invasion, when the Nestorian Katholikos took refuge in the mountains of Kurdistan, and the center of gravity of the nation shifted from the great cities of Mesopotamia to the small villages of the north, where the churches were too small or too poor to have a bema (1). The 9th century *Expositio* is the last Nestorian commentary we have, but the rite of " adoration of the bema " in the eucharistic liturgy first appears in liturgical MSS of the 16th century, which would seem to indicate that the bema was still in use in some churches at that time (2). The disposition of the church of Ṭāhra in Mosul represents perhaps a transitional stage in the decline of the bema. When the church was rearranged in the 18th century, the bema pulpits were removed to a platform built into the west end of the church; there is no Golgotha (3). In modern Chaldean churches, the pulpits are located on the qesṭrōmā.

The West-Syrian Tradition.

It is when we turn to the West-Syrian tradition that certain problems appear. There is no doubt whatever that the Syrian liturgical tradition made use of an object that the sources refer to as " bēm, bēmā " or " ambōn, ambōnā " (4). Was this piece of liturgical furniture the same as the Nestorian bema? Let us review the facts.

(1) DAUVILLIER, *L'Ambon ou bêmâ*, pp. 25-26.

(2) We have this information from W. F. Macomber, S. J. who has studied numerous Nestorian liturgical MSS in Europe and the Middle East. These MSS refer to the bema as if still in use right up until the 19th century.

(3) FIEY, *Mossoul*, p. 78.

(4) On terminology see DAUVILLIER, *L'ambon ou bêmâ*, p. 11; COQUIN, *Le " bîma "*, pp. 444 ff. COQUIN (p. 445) affirms incorrectly that the Syrians never call the bema " ambon ". But ambōn, ambōnā are both found in the Syriac sources. Cf. the references in R. PAYNE SMITH, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 224; J. P. MARGOLIOUTH, *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxford, 1927, p. 21. HICKLEY (*Ambon*, p. 410) follows COQUIN in this error.

The Archeological Evidence.

Unlike the Nestorian tradition, the Syrian presents us with an abundance of archeological evidence that has been thoroughly studied and described, especially, with respect to the bema, by Lassus and Tchalenko (1). But it should first be noted that one simply cannot speak of *a* West-Syrian tradition with respect to the liturgical disposition of the church. Varying traditions are found in four regions: I – North and Northeast Syria, II – South Syria and beyond, III – Osrhoëne and beyond (parts of Northern Mesopotamia, the Tur Abdin, etc.), IV – the Maphrianate of Tikrit.

Region I (2) comprises Antiochia or the coastal area around Antioch; the limestone massif (Ğebel il A'la, Ğebel Barīša, Ğebel Sim'ān, Ğebel Rīḥa) bordered on the west by the Orontes north of Apamea, the 'Afrīn river on the north, and the Homs-Aleppo railway on the east; two sites to the northeast of Hama (Mir'āye and Firge); Bennāwi in the Ğebel Ḥāss; Zebed in the Ğebel Sbeit; and Reṣāfe in Euphratensis. With the exception of Reṣāfe, Mir'āye, and Firge, all these sites are within the ancient province of Syria Prima. Within this region, 32 bemas have been identified (3). Hence the archeologists have discovered strong evidence for the use of a bema in North Syria, i.e. in Antiochia Chalcidica and in the interior plateau to the west of the Euphrates river. But the heaviest concentration of these sites — 25 of them — are in

(1) Cf. especially LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*; TCHALENKO, *Villages*.

(2) See map. For other maps of these regions and the archeological sites, in addition to the works cited in the previous note, see VAN DER MEER-MOHRMANN, *Atlas*, maps 15 a-b; LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*; HINDO, *Fonti Codif. Canon. Or.* ser. II, fasc. 28. In the last 2 works, the maps are at the end of the volume. For a history of the shifting borders in this whole region, see E. HONIGMANN, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363-1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen* (tome III of A. A. VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*) Brussel, 1935; *Historische Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum, Zeitschr. des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, 1923-24; R. DUSSAUD, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris, 1927.

(3) LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, pp. 94-95, has a complete list of these bemas. Two more have been tentatively identified (*ibid.*, p. 94 n. 2).

the limestone massif between the Homs-Aleppo railroad and the Orontes.

Geographically, Region I is but a small portion of the area formerly under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch and, later, of the Jacobite Church (1). And it is within this small area alone that any trace of a structure similar to the Nestorian bema has been found. In this region the evidence is clear. But even here a rather large number of churches have been uncovered; in only 32 of them — or perhaps 31, if we exclude Qausīye — was there a bema, and there are some churches in this region that seem never to have had one (2).

However, it is probable that many churches here had a wooden bema that has quite understandably disappeared without a trace. Tchalenko has discovered in the pavement-mosaic of a 4th century church in Rayān (Ğebel Zāwiye) the floor-plan of a bema on which moveable chairs and lecterns were undoubtedly placed during the liturgy (3). And in at least two churches, Mir'āye and the church of North Berīš, the bema consists of a very low stone wall with holes along its top surface in which apparently a wooden superstructure was fixed (4).

(1) For a complete list, with historical notes, of all sees of the West-Syrian Church, cf. P. HINDO, *Juridiction territoriale du Patriarche de Antioche*, and *Éparchies du Maphrianat* (Appendices I-II in *Disciplina antiochena antica, Siri, III, Fonti codif. canon. or.*, ser. II, fasc. 26, Roma, 1951); HONIGMANN, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au vi^e siècle* (*CSCO* 127, subs. 2) Louvain, 1951.

(2) The archeologists give varying lists of the Syrian churches. MARX (*Les églises paléochrétiennes*, in HINDO *Fonti*, ser. II, fasc. 28, pp. 13-58) has enumerated 256, some of which are known only from literary sources. Of these, 176 are in our Region I. Cf. LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, pp. 76 ff, for some of the churches which apparently never had a bema. HICKLEY (*Ambon*, p. 413) says that the possibility of wooden bemas makes it impossible to judge the geographical boundaries of the area in which the bema was used. But it is precisely in the South, where *no* bemas have been found, that bemas would have been made of stone. Wood was more abundant in the North. Only there was it used in roofing churches. In the South, stone was used even for that.

(3) TCHALENKO, *Villages*, III, p. 37; I, p. 334.

(4) BUTLER, *Syria* (Div. II, sect. B), p. 69; LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*, pp. 210-211; LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, p. 116.

Two sites in Antiochia, Qausīye and Seleucia-Pieria, are included by Lassus and Tchalenko in their list of 32 bema churches. But it seems that the exedra in the center of the cruciform martyrion of Qausīye was the *confessio* containing the martyr's relics and perhaps a eucharistic altar as well. At least there is no sanctuary in the east end of this church which could have held the altar (1).

But in all the other sites in Region I (we shall reserve Reṣāfe, Fafertīn and Seleucia for special comment later) where the ruins are relatively complete, the same type of bema appears, and we have no reason to believe that the bemas in the few sites where the ruins are less complete would show any significant differences. The bemas uncovered in this area are all U-shaped, raised enclosures of the type already described (2). No šqāqōnā or pathway connects the bema to the sanctuary platform. In the middle of the bemas of Beḥyō and Reṣāfe the remains of a ciborium have been found, even though the Jacobite commentator Yaḥya ibn Ğarīr (c. 1083) explicitly refers to the ciborium as a distinguishing feature of the Nestorian bema (3).

No traces of a Golgotha altar have been found, although Ibn Ğarīr calls the place of the bema " Golgotha ", figure of the place where Christ was crucified and where the head of Adam was buried (4). Were there an altar under the ciborium in Beḥyō, it would have to be moveable, since one must pass under the ciborium to reach the pulpit and synthronon. (5).

(1) LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*, pp. 125 ff; *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 250, n. 2; TCHALENKO, *Villages*, I, p. 257; MARX. *Les églises paléochrétiennes*, p. 53; RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 51-52.

(2) Cf. p. 329 above.

(3) See below, pp. 353-354. ĞARĪR also mentions a šqāqōnā in the church arrangement of Tikrit, and LASSUS believes that traces of this pathway will be found in N. Syria when the churches there have been adequately studied (*Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 249). In the same article (p. 243), L. refers to Reṣāfe and Kalōta, not Beḥyō, as the 2 churches with a bema ciborium, but this is an error (Cf. LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, p. 81). HICKLEY (*Ambon*, p. 415) notes that the bema of Beḥyō has stone nibs at the east end which could have been anchorings for wooden pathway walls.

(4) See pp. 353-354.

(5) LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, p. 81. We believe LASSUS is wrong in placing a Golgotha altar on the W.-Syrian bema (*Liturgies*

The size of these bemas bears but little proportional relationship to the size of the church. In some smaller churches it is relatively huge in comparison with the size of the building, and it aways occupies a large portion of the nave. It is located in the center of the main nave, often closer to the back or west wall of the church than to the sanctuary, its east end coinciding with the central axis of the nave (1).

Finally, these bemas differ from the Nestorian bema in the following details:

1) there is a synthronon but usually no episcopal throne
2) there is a pulpit in the axis of the west end
3) the west end is always curved
4) there is no Golgotha altar
5) there is generally no ciborium
6) there is no šqāqōnā (?)
7) they are always enclosed by a wall (not, however, to be excluded in the Nestorian tradition).

As for the other aspects of the arrangement of these churches, the following points should be noted. Because of the size and location of the bema, it is easy to understand why many Syrian churches, like the Nestorian, have no west entrance. Even where there is a west door in North-Syrian churches, it is usually not the principal entrance. Rather, as among the Nestorians, the principal doors are in the south wall: the women's door to the southwest; the main entrance, for the men, to the southeast (2).

nestoriennes médiévales, p. 243). In LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens* (p. 87), it is suggested that the gospel was read under the ciborium. We believe this to be the proper interpretation of the ciboria that have been discovered; it also agrees with the description of ĞARĪR (cf. below, pp. 353-354).

(1) *Ibid.*, pp. 80-83, and 96 ff, where plans, photographs, and dimensions of the churches in the Ğebel il A'la are given. The width of the bema varies from about 3 m 50-6 m, depending on the width of the nave, and its length is 4-6m. But the one in Brād is 8m long, that in Reṣāfe 16 m. The bema walls are about 1 m 40 high, sometimes surmounted by a balustrade.

(2) On the whole question of doors, see LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, p. 82; LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*, pp. 187 ff; and p. 336 above. SCHNEIDER (*Liturgie u. Kirchenbau*, p. 67) attributes the placing of the

With respect to the place of the laity in the church, the location and dimensions of the bema present some problems. For in two churches (Kalōta and Fafertīn) the whole of the central nave in front of the bema seems to have been closed to the people, who would thus have been relegated to the part of the nave beside and behind the bema (1). But this was surely not true in single-nave churches, where the space beside and behind the bema is sometimes very small (2).

Most of the churches of North Syria have the usual pastophoria (3). The central sanctuary chamber is rectangular, or if apsidal, there is a gradual evolution during the 4-7th centuries from a very shallow niche to an extended semi-circle (4). Very few altars have been uncovered in these churches. Two that have been found were deep in the apse — not attached to the east wall, but so close to it (1 m 85 in Brad; 0 m 80 in Ḥarāb Šams)

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entrance on the south side to climatic conditions. This may be true for Serǧilla, the town on which he bases his argument, and for other towns in the same region. But in fact there is a great variety in the location of the doors in Syrian churches (on the south, south and west, or on all 3 sides). But the south side is favored in N. Syria, especially in the Ǧebel Bariša where Serǧilla is located (Cf. LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*, p. 189). We do not know of any church yet uncovered which had doors only on the south side, and which did not also have a bema. In the ancient Syrian literary sources, the *Testamentum Domini* (p. 23) mentions 3 doors, and the *Didascalia arabica* (35, 1, FUNK II, p. 124) locates these doors on the S, W and N sides.

(1) LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, p. 83.

(2) Cf. LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, p. 83. In Qirqbīze the bema is 3 m 10 from the W. wall, 1 m 50 from the side wall; in Kfeir, 3 m 70 and 1 m 65. But in spite of this, we do not agree with TCHALENKO (*Villages*, I, p. 328 n. 4) that the laity also sat on the bema. The whole of tradition is against this. See for example the Syriac penitential canon which expressly forbids the laity to mount the ambon (DENZINGER, *Ritus Orientalium*, Graz, 1961, I, p. 485, canon 72).

(3) But in N. Syria the 2 pastophoria did not remain prothesis and diaconicon as in the Byzantine tradition. One chamber became a martyr's chapel. Cf. LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*, pp. 195 ff; TCHALENKO, *Villages*, I, p. 334 n. 3. SCHNEIDER (*Liturgie u. Kirchenbau*, pp. 57 ff, 64 ff) gives a different explanation of the change that came about in the design of one of the pastophoria. See also Γ. Σωτηρίου, Ἡ Πρόθεσις καὶ τὸ Διακονικὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀρχαίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, Θεολογία (Athens), Series II, vol. 1, 1940, 76-100.

(4) LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, p. 83.

that it is clear that the celebrant faced east, and that the clergy did not sit behind the altar on a synthronon (1). In fact a throne or synthronon in the apse is very rarely found in North Syria (2).

Where, then, was the episcopal throne? This presents a problem, for in none of the churches with a bema except Reṣāfe was there a throne in the apse, and on the bema we find a pulpit where one would expect to find a throne — that is, if we presume for the moment that in the West-Syrian liturgy the bishop sat on the bema. Because of the supposed parallelism between Syrian churches and Nestorian liturgy, the bema pulpit was at first interpreted as an episcopal throne (3). But the shape of the pulpit makes this impossible unless the episcopal physique has evolved considerably in the past 1500 years (4).

What has apparently never been taken into account in all the discussion of this pulpit is that, in fact, there was no bishop. No church with this arrangement (pulpit and synthronon on the bema, no synthronon in the apse) has yet been found in any town where there was an episcopal see (5). But this does not solve the problem, for the oldest Syrian church, Fafertīn (372), had a bema

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 84; LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*, p. 199; *Syrie* (*DACL*) col. 1880. In Zerzīta the altar is against the east wall.

(2) LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*, pp. 198-202; LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, pp. 84-85. BUTLER (*Early Churches*, p. 212) claimed to have discovered evidence of a synthronon in some N.-Syrian churches without specifying where. There was one in Qal'at Sim'ān and Reṣāfe (at least a throne in the latter); MARX claims there was one in Qaṣr el Banāt (420), and MATTERN found the ruins of a throne in the sanctuary at Bāqirḥā in Ǧebel Bariša. Cf. MARX, *Églises paléochrétiennes*, p. 44; J. MATTERN, *A travers les villes mortes de Haute Syrie*, *Mélanges de l'Univ. de S. Joseph*, 17, 1933, p. 62.

(3) Cf. MOUTERDE, *Atti del III congresso internazionale d'archeologia cristiana*, Roma, 1934, p. 469; LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*, p. 214. But it is now generally recognized that the object is a pulpit, not a throne. Cf. LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, p. 87; LASSUS, *La liturgie dans les basiliques syriennes*, p. 421; *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 244.

(4) This seems obvious from the shape and design of the pulpit. See the illustrations in CHABOT, *Inscriptions syriaques de Bennaouï*, *Syria*, 10, 1929, pp. 252-253; LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*, Pl. XL; LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, pp. 96 ff. This pulpit has been found in Bennāwi, Qirkbīze and Behyō, and there was probably one in other sites that have not yet been thoroughly studied or where the ruins are such that one can not reconstruct the bema completely.

(5) Cf. the lists of sees cited above in n. 1, p. 339.

that in this point fits the Chaldean plan. We have been unable to find an adequate study of this exedra, but according to a very brief description by Lassus(1) it was square-shaped, with benches on the north and south sides. Across the east end there was a chancel surmounted by small columns and an architrave. And jutting out slightly from the center of the straight west end was a semi-circular throne instead of the more usual pulpit. Do we have here, at last, an episcopal throne? A Syriac inscription found on the ruins of a bema in Zebed (5th century), "Ada Raboula made this throne [ṭrōnōs]" (2), indicates that the bema was considered the place of some kind of throne. Nevertheless, neither Fafertīn nor Zebed was an episcopal see. Only two towns in Region I had bishop as well as bema: Seleucia-Pieria and Reṣāfe. For the martyrion of Seleucia, the evidence is not clear. And in Reṣāfe there was a throne behind the altar in the apse(3).

Lassus, who is a bit over-eager to make the archeological remains of North Syria correspond exactly to the description of the church in the *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio*, considers this question of the pulpit a minor detail, a variation of no importance (4). But for us, it is a crucial point in the whole question of the bema in the West-Syrian tradition: did the bishops and priests sit on it during the liturgy? That is, did they remain there seated, as in the Nestorian tradition, during the whole liturgy of the Word and for parts of other offices? Or was the bema merely a large ambon where the chanters remained to intone the liturgical chants, and which the deacons and lesser clergy ascended for the litanies, proclamations, readings, and other occasional rites? If so, then there is nothing remarkable about the liturgical use of the West-Syrian bema. The Byzantine ambon fulfilled the same purpose, and the bema we have been discussing would thus be peculiar only in shape and size.

As we shall see later when we examine the liturgical sources, all the earliest literary evidence in the Antiochene tradition points

(1) LASSUS, *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 244 n. 1.

(2) L. JALABERT and R. MOUTERDE, S. J., *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. Paris, 1939, vol. 2 no. 313.

(3) According to LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens* (pp. 84-5) this throne may be a later addition. For Seleucia, cf. LASSUS, *Sanctuaires*, p. 314.

(4) LASSUS, *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 249.

to the more usual arrangement of throne, synthronon and altar in the eastern end of the church. And in one extant church where we have indisputable evidence of both bema and bishop, Reṣāfe, there is also a throne in the apse. True, there is also a synthronon on the exedra. But we are at least faced with a usage that differs from the Nestorian.

What, then, was the purpose of the pulpit in the west axis of the North-Syrian bema? It seems improbable that it was for reading or preaching. It is too small to hold conveniently a large open book, and in some churches it is so close to the rear wall of the church that the minister would be turned away from most of his congregation, and would be facing only the women (1). Since this pulpit is found only in churches where there was no bishop, it was probably meant to hold the gospel, symbol of Christ as the true presiding minister of the liturgical assembly. There is abundant iconographical evidence for this symbolism, especially in the iconography of the Ecumenical Councils, where the conciliar fathers are depicted seated in a semi-circle, flanking the enthroned gospel, on an exedra remarkably like the Syrian bema (2).

(1) In N. Beriš the ambon is only 2 m 05 from the west wall, 2 m 50 in Bettir, 3 m 10 in Qirqbīze. In the latter church, the dossier of the ambon is only 48 cm wide, large enough to hold (opened) a book of 20 cm only. Cf. LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, pp. 86, 96 ff; TCHALENKO *Villages*, I, p. 328 n. 4.

(2) For a discussion of this symbolism, cf. LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, pp. 90-93; JANERAS, *Vestiges du bima*, pp. 121-122. Illustrations of this iconographic theme can be found in DALTON, *Byzantine Art and Archeology*, Oxford, 1911, pp. 240, 241, 645, 662; C. DIEHL, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, Paris, 1923, II, p. 882; A. GRABAR, *La peinture religieuse bulgare*, Paris, 1928, p. 146, and *Le schéma iconographique de la Pentecôte*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 2, 1928, p. 224; MILLET, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile*, Paris, 1916, pp. 25-26; H. STERN, *Les représentations des conciles*, *Byzantion*, 11, 1936, pp. 141-142; J. LEROY, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient*, Paris 1964, pl. 97, 1-2; 101, 1, 3; 104, 1; 134, 2; 139, 2; I. ORTIZ DE URBINA, S. J., *Nicée et Constantinople*, Paris, 1963, p. 161. The empty throne is not an exclusively Christian symbol. Cf. J. AUBOYER, *Le trône vide dans la tradition indienne*, *Cah. Arch.*, 6, 1952, 1-9; C. PICARD, *Le trône vide d'Alexandre dans la cérémonie de cyinda et le culte de trône vide à travers le monde gréco-romain*, *Cah. Arch.*, 7, 1954, 1-17.

How are we to interpret the evidence thus far? It appears that on the basis of archeological evidence alone, we have not yet found a sure solution to the problem of the episcopal throne. If the arrangement found in Fafertīn was typical of the early bema, the main celebrant of the liturgy, even if not a bishop, probably occupied the west throne. The introduction of the bema pulpit may have been a later refinement in non-episcopal churches, a sign that when there was no bishop, the gospel, and not one of the presbyters, presided in the name of Christ. The church of St. Sergius in Reṣāfe was a center of pilgrimage, and might represent a mixed or later (6th century) tradition. Or, since Reṣāfe had a bishop, it might well be that for the pontifical liturgy, the throne of the bishop was in the apse. We do not yet have enough evidence to solve this problem, but to argue from the usages of another tradition is bad methodology when the parallel is just not that clear.

We must still deal with the problem of chronology. If the early literary evidence points to the original Antiochene arrangement as having the synthronon in the apse, when did the bema come into use? The churches in question date from the 4-6th centuries. The date of a church is not necessarily that of its bema (1). But the evidence seems to indicate that the exedra of the martyrion of Qausīye was built with the church in 381. The most recent church with bema is the church of North Beriš

(1) A list of the bema churches and their dates is given in LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, pp. 94-95. There is a bema in the oldest dated church in N. Syria (Fafertīn, 372) but it is not certain that the bema is part of the original structure. In the undated churches in Mir'āye and el Firge the floor mosaics continue under the bema. Hence it is probably a later addition. The bema in Qirqbīze was added in the 5th century (see p. 347). We are not concerned here with the problem of the origin of the bema. Some have tried to trace it to the synagogue (cf. COQUIN, *Le " bima "*, pp. 467 ff; HICKLEY, Ambon; L. BOUYER, *Rite and Man*, pp. 167 ff; *L'Eucharistie*, pp. 31-32. See also T. MATHEW's attack on BOUYER's thesis: *P. Bouyer on Sacred Space: A Re-appraisal*, *Downside Review*, 82, 1964, 111-123, and BOUYER's acrimonious reply on pp. 277-280 of the same volume). Another line of research might be to follow up a suggestion of LASSUS about the relationship of the bema to the cult of martyrs in the Syrian church. Perhaps the bema resulted from a fusion of the bema-type *confessio* like the one in Qausiye with the basilica. Cf. LASSUS, *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 250, *Sanctuaires*, 125 ff, 162 ff; TCHALENKO, *Villages*, I, p. 263 note.

(late 6th-early 7th century). Hence at least from the end of the 4th century until the Moslem conquest, the bema was in use in North Syria. After this time it would seem that no more bemas were built, and there is some evidence that the bema was even removed from some churches after this period, perhaps under Byzantine influence (1).

But even in Region I the bema does not appear to have been part of the original arrangement of the church. Tchalenko has studied the successive stages in the liturgical disposition of the church of Qirqbīze: (2)

1) early in the 4th century the church was an undivided hall with a platform raised one step at the east end.

2) mid-4th century: a triumphal arch is added to divide this platform from the nave.

3) beginning of the 5th century: the sanctuary is raised one more step, a chancel with one central door is added, as well as a sanctuary curtain. It is at this time that the bema is built in the center of the nave.

4) mid 5th-century: the sanctuary is closed off by a three-door chancel. But the sanctuary remains a single chamber, not divided into altar-room and pastophoria.

One might speculate, then, that the North-Syrian bema was introduced toward the end of the 4th century, at a time when the separation between sanctuary and nave was accentuated. Perhaps this new, enclosed sanctuary rendered impracticable the seating of the clergy in the apse, and led to the bema arrangement. But the problems with this idea are many. First, Reṣāfe

(1) LASSUS-TCHALENKO, *Ambons syriens*, p. 78. The bema was removed from the church of Qalblōze, and LASSUS and TCHALENKO (p. 113) suggest that this took place during the re-occupation by the Byzantine forces of the mountainous region west of Aleppo in the campaigns of Nicephoras Phocas. They were driven out in the 2d Arab conquest. But long before this period (10-11 cent.), in the 7th century, 14 years of Persian occupation and later the Arab conquest cut off the trade routes to the West, the oil trade was wiped out, and this whole region in which the bema has been found declined economically and eventually became depopulated. Cf. TCHALENKO, *Villages*, I, pp. 431-438.

(2) TCHALENKO, *Villages*, I, pp. 329 ff and II, pl. CV, CVI. Cf. also II, pp. 332 ff, 338. The bema may have replaced an earlier, wooden one (cf. p. 334).

has a throne in the apse as well as bema, and was built (6th century) after the enclosed sanctuary had evolved. Secondly, only a limited number of churches had a bema, whereas the evolution of the enclosed sanctuary is general (1). Finally, there is still no certain evidence that the clergy in the West-Syrian tradition ever sat on the bema, or, for that matter, that in churches to which a bema was later added, they had ever been seated in the sanctuary.

One final point before we leave Region I. Tchalenko has noted two important facts: 1) no bema has ever been discovered in a conventual church in this area; 2) where more than one church is found in a village, only one of them has a bema (2). Hence even in Region I the bema was perhaps a usage exclusively of the cathedral rite, and only in the principal church of each town.

If we turn our attention briefly to the provinces of the Syrian rite found in Regions II-III — Syria Secunda, Phoenicia, Osrhoëne, Arabia, North Mesopotamia — not only do we find no trace of the North-Syrian or Chaldean type bema but, rather, clear evidence of another liturgical arrangement. In the sites to the south of Syria Prima, i.e. in Region II, we find a synthronon in the apse, the altar in a sanctuary enclosed by a chancel that extends some distance out beyond the apse, and an off-center ambon or pulpit jutting out into the nave from the chancel enclosure (3). In Deir Ṣoleib the ambon is not attached to the chancel but stands free, in the middle of the church (4).

(1) But other churches may have had wooden bemas (see p. 339). Also one cannot argue that all churches first had an open sanctuary that became progressively separated from the nave. Cf. H. Stern, *Nouvelles recherches sur les images des conciles dans l'Église de la Nativité à Bethléem*, *Cah. Arch.* 3, 1948, pp. 93-98; Tchalenko, *Villages*, I, 333 n. 2; Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, pp. 203 ff.

(2) Tchalenko, *Villages*, I, p. 355. There are two bemas in Ruweiḥa, but the two churches are 2 centuries apart (South Church, 4th c., Church of Bizzos, 6th c.) and the later one was probably built to replace the former.

(3) Cf. J. W. Crowfoot, *The Christian Churches*, in C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa*, New Haven, 1938; Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, pp. 198-99; 207; *Syrie*, *DACL*, XV², col. 1884 n. 6, 1892 ff; Schneider, *Liturgie u. Kirchenbau*, pp. 64 ff; Mouterde, *Le limes de Chalcis*, p. 164.

(4) This was initially interpreted as being possibly the place of the altar (cf. J. Mattern, R. Mouterde, et A. Beaulieu, S. J., *Dair Solaib. 1 – Les deux églises*, *Mélanges de l'Univ. de S. Joseph*, 22, 1939, pp. 12-13). But is clearly an ambon. See also Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, p. 212; Lassus-Tchalenko, *Ambons syriens*, p. 76, n. 2.

To the North, in Region III, the arrangement was similar to the Byzantine. Literary evidence indicates that the cathedral of Edessa had a large ambon in the center of the nave, with throne and synthronon in the apse. The extant churches of the Tur Abdin point to a similar arrangement (1). Whether or not the literary sources call this ambon a "bema" is irrelevant. We cannot argue from words. Region IV, the Maphrianate of Tikrit, will be discussed later when we examine the literary sources. We know of no extant churches of the Maphrianate that have kept the early tradition of this area in the arrangement of the church (2).

Before we move on to the literary evidence in the West-Syrian tradition, we might sum up the archeological evidence as follows:

1) The remains of a bema have been found in 31-32 West-Syrian churches.

2) All these churches are located in one region, comprising but a small portion of the area of the Syrian tradition.

(1) On Edessa, cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Une hymne syriaque sur la cathédrale d'Edesse*, *Cah. Arch.* 2, 1947, 29-39; A. Grabar, *Le témoignage d'une hymne syriaque sur l'architecture de la cathédrale d'Edesse au VIe siècle et sur la symbolique de l'édifice chrétien*, *Cah. Arch.* 2, 1948, 41-67; H. Goussen, *Über eine "Sugitha" auf die Kathedrale von Edessa*, *Le Muséon*, 38, 1925, 117-136; A.-M. Schneider, *Die Kathedrale von Edessa*, *Oriens Christianus*, 36, 1938, 161-167; A. Baumstark, *Vorjustinianische kirchliche Bauten in Edessa*, *Oriens Christianus*, 4, 1904, 164-183; I. E. Rahmani (ed.), *Chronicon civile et ecclesiasticum anonymi auctoris*, Scharfeh, 1904. On the Tur Abdin, see G. L. Bell, *The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin and Neighbouring Districts*, Heidelberg, 1913; H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*, Paris, 1907 (esp. p. 92); Fiey, *Mossoul chrétienne*, pp. 87-102; Hindo, *Lieux et temps sacrés* (*Fonti codif. canon. or.*, ser. II, fasc. 28) p. 133 n. 2. There are also many descriptions of churches in O. H. Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, London, 1895.

(2) Fiey, *Mossoul chrétienne* (pp. 98-99) gives what little archeological evidence is available on the bema in this area. Fiey does not take into account the churches of N. Syria in his reconstruction of the ancient Syrian church, but he places throne and synthronon in the apse, and a bema without seats in the center of the nave. Cf. pp. 95-98 and pl. III.

3) All other areas (except Tikrit) seem to have a different arrangement in the churches. The large ambon in these churches may be called " bema " in Syriac, but it is not what has come to be considered the " typical " Syrian bema with seats, etc.

4) Even within the region where the bema is found, there are many churches with no bema, and some which seem never to have had one.

5) In towns with more than one church, only one church has a bema.

6) No bema has ever been found in a conventual church.

7) In the only bema-church where we know there was also a bishop, Reṣāfe, and where the remains are not obscure, there was also a throne in the apse.

8) The evolution of the bema may be linked to the evolution of the enclosed sanctuary.

9) The pulpit in the west axis of the bema was not an episcopal throne, nor does it seem to have been for reading or preaching. It was probably for the enthronement of the gospel.

10) It is possible that from the 4-7th century in what we have called Region I the clergy sat on the bema during the liturgy of the Word of the cathedral rite in the principal church of the town. But it is not proven. The bema synthronon could equally well have been occupied by a choir.

11) Consequently, on archeological grounds alone, the presumption that a Chaldean-type bema was *general* in the West-Syrian tradition seems without foundation.

12) The same may be said with respect to the various theories concerning the antiquity of the bema-type church arrangement as the original one in the primitive Christian church(1).

(1) Cf. JARRY, *L'ambon dans la liturgie primitive*, esp. pp. 157 ff. The handling of liturgical evidence in this article is valueless. The author presupposes that later liturgical evolution was toward a simplification of the primitive liturgy. And his dating of liturgical sources is naive. He accepts the Migne edition of the liturgy of John Chrysostom as a pre-5th century source, the spurious 12th century commentary of Sophronius of Jerusalem as 7th century, etc. There is no evidence for most of the conclusions he claims to have " established with complete certitude ". (p. 161)

The West-Syrian Literary Evidence.

Unfortunately, the liturgical commentators of the Jacobite tradition have not provided us with the same wealth of detailed liturgical information as their Nestorian brethren. The ancient documents of the Antiochene tradition, both Greek and Syriac, place the altar, throne and synthronon in the east end of the church (1). The shape of the ambon is not specified. According to the *Apostolic Constitutions* it was an elevated place in the center of the church (2). The *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* refers simply to a place for the readings a short distance from the altar; the *Didascalia Arabica* adds the precision that it was a bit to the north (3). The arrangement described in the *Apostolic Constitutions* corresponds best to that of the churches in Region III (Osrhoëne, Tur Abdin, etc.). The *Testamentum* and *Didascalia Arabica* correspond better to the southern tradition (Region II) (4). At any rate there is no question of an elaborate bema of the type described in the Nestorian sources.

A text from John of Ephesus' († 586) *Lives of Two Monks* also places the bishop's throne in the apse. He recounts how the devil possessed a woman and had her mount the throne (trōnōs) of the bishop " which is usually placed in the churches or in the chief martyrs' chapels on the dais [qeṣtrōmā] of the altar [d-

(1) *Ap. Const.* II, 57, 4 (FUNK, I, 161); *Didascalia* II, 57, 4-5 (FUNK, I, 158-160); *Testamentum* I, 19 (RAHMANI, p. 24 [25]); *Didascalia Arabica*, 35, 6-10 (FUNK II, 124-125).

(2) *Ap. Const.* II, 57, 5 (FUNK I, 161).

(3) *Testamentum, loc. cit.*; *Didascalia Arabica*, 25, 16 (FUNK II, 125). Another source, the *Didascalia of Addai*, merely states what is to be read in the bema. Cf. HINDO, *Lieux et temps sacrés* (*Fonti, ser.* II, fasc. 28), p. 133.

(4) And in Region I, the churches of the Antiochene littoral undoubtedly corresponded to the *Constitutions*, and had an ambon instead of a bema. SCHNEIDER, following a suggestion of CROWFOOT, uses this correspondence between the *Testamentum Domini* and the churches between Bosra and Gerasa to date the text as 5th century. Other elements of the *Testamentum* (e. g. the places reserved for men and women in the lateral naves) also correspond to the southern arrangement. Cf. CROWFOOT, *The Christian Churches*, p. 176; SCHNEIDER, *Liturgie u. Kirchenbau*, pp. 64-67; LASSUS, *Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales*, p. 246. SCHNEIDER (*loc. cit.*) also believes that the *Didascalia Arabica* corresponds best to the churches of the Ḥaurān.

maḍbḥā] " (1). John was a monk in the region of Amida, was consecrated bishop of Ephesus c. 558 although there is no evidence he ever resided there, and after 566 became the head of the Monophysites in Constantinople, who had been protected by Theodora and later Justinian. His *Lives* were written in 566-567, so perhaps he is describing the " northern " usage, or at least a usage under Byzantine influence (2).

For the church of Hagia Sophia in Edessa, the evidence indicates a similar arrangement: altar and synthronon in the apse, ambon in the center of the nave (3).

Among the Jacobite commentators on the liturgy, George, " bishop of the Arab tribes " († c. 724) (4), Moses Bar Kepha († 903) and Dionysius Bar Salibi († 1171) do not mention a bema or ambon at all, nor do they give any indication where those ceremonies appropriate to it — the readings, proclamations, etc. — took place. Bar Kepha and Bar Salibi, the latter copying his predecessor, say only that the " orientals ", unlike the westerners, have preserved the custom of having the deacon proclaim the kārōzūṭā after the creed. This he does " on the steps " (el dargē), whatever that means (5).

Yaḥya ibn Ǧarīr (c. 1083) and Ya'qub ibn Šakhō († 1241) are a bit more helpful. Ibn Šakhō in his *Book of Treasures* men-

(1) Or " to the East " [madnḥā], reading of Land. Cf. E. W. BROOKS, (ed.) *John of Ephesus, Lives of the Eastern Saints, Patrol. Orientalis*, 17, Paris, 1923, p. 225; J. P. N. LAND, *Anecdota Syriaca* II, Leyden, 1868, p. 124.

(2) BROOKS, *John of Ephesus*, Introduction, pp. iv ff.

(3) See note 1, above, p. 349.

(4) I. e. bishop of the Arab tribes that had been converted from paganism before the advent of Islam. Their bishop, a suffragan of the Maphrian of Tikrit, had no fixed residence. Cf. HINDO, *Éparchies du Maphrianat*, Appendice II, *Fonti*, ser. II fasc. 26, pp. 518-521. For GEORGE's commentary, see the following note.

(5) R. H. CONNOLLY and H. W. CODRINGTON, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy by George Bishop of the Arab Tribes and Moses Bar Kepha, together with the Syrian Anaphora of St. James, and a Document entitled the Book of Life*, London, 1913, p. 38; H. LABOURT (ed.) *Dionysius Bar Salibi Expositio Liturgiae, CSCO*, Scr. Syr. ser. II, tom. 93, Paris, 1903, p. 40 [60]. " Orientals " here means the East-Syrian Jacobites of the Maphrianate of Tikrit. BAR KEPHA was himself an " oriental ", and the kārōzūṭā he refers to was a warning to the faithful to " stand aright " that came after the creed.

tions a bema without giving any further information as to its form or use (1). Ibn Ǧarīr, on the other hand, in his *Kitāb al Murṣid*, gives a description of the Jacobite church and even points out how it differs from the Nestorian. Since this work is in Arabic, we have had to rely on the recent French translation of Khouri-Sarkis for the following information (2). According to Ǧarīr, the bema was in the middle of the nave and is the figure of Golgotha where Christ died and where the head of Adam was buried [11]. Between the sanctuary and bema there is a walled-in pathway used by the priests and deacons at the time for reading the sacred books. Each one of the walls enclosing this corridor is pierced by an opening, perhaps to permit access across the pathway to the northern side of the nave [13-14]. To the right and left are two places (pulpits?) on the bema for reading the Holy Scriptures [15]. But here the Jacobite tradition differs from the Nestorian. One pulpit is for the Old Testament, one for the epistles of St. Paul and Acts, but the gospel is read " in the middle " [15], and he immediately adds that the Nestorians have in the middle of the bema a ciborium that symbolises the tomb of Adam. Later he returns to the readings. The Old Testament is read on the left side, the New Testament on the right [17]. For the reading of the gospel in the center of the bema, all the priests and deacons mount the bema with the priest who is to read the gospel and surround him like the disciples around the Lord [17-18]. The Old Testament readings are done facing east, but the priest turns west, i.e. toward the assembly, for the gospel, because the gospel is a preaching for the faithful, and should be done facing them [22]. During the reading of the gospel there are also the usual candles and incense [19]. Right after the gospel the priest descends from the bema [21].

In this description the following details should be noted. Nothing is said of the shape of the bema, but it was certainly quite large and, unlike the bemas of North Syria, connected to

(1) Quoted in HINDO, *Lieux et temps sacrés* (*Fonti*, ser. II, fasc. 28) p. 134.

(2) G. KHOURI-SARKIS, *Le " Livre de Guide " de Yahya ibn Jarir*, *l'Or. Syrien*, 12, 1967, pp. 303-354. The numbers in brackets refer to the paragraph numbers in this translation, the pertinent sections of which are on pp. 319-331. Cf. also HINDO, *Lieux et temps sacrés*, pp. 132-133; COQUIN, *Le " bima "*, p. 454.

the sanctuary by a šqāqōnā. There was no ciborium, but the gospel was read in the center where in the Nestorian tradition the Golgotha is found. This perhaps explains why the bemas of Reṣāfe and Beḥyō had a ciborium but no Golgotha altar. It was under the ciborium that the gospel was read. That the gospel was read facing west seems odd. In the traditional Jacobite arrangement, only the women were west of the bema, and as we have seen, in smaller churches there would have been very little space for anyone in the western end of the nave. There is no indication of a bema throne, or that anyone sat on the bema. In fact the author seems to indicate that the clergy came to the bema for the readings [14] and left right after the gospel [21].

The last Jacobite author to mention the bema is Bar Hebraeus († 1286). Speaking of the consecration of the myron on Holy Thursday, he refers to three choirs, one of which is on the bema. The bishop is seated on a high throne to the east of the altar, not on the bema. The brief description of the liturgy does not mention how the bema fits into the ceremonial. But at the end of the liturgy, the clergy exit to the bema, mount it, and the bishop gives the blessing with the newly consecrated myron (1).

All the Jacobite authors mentioned so far, except Bar Salibi, were *East-Syrian* Jacobites. That is to say, they lived in that part of Mesopotamia subject to the Maphrian of Tikrit (2). This

(1) A. MAI, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, X, Rome, 1838: *Ecclesiae Antiochenae Syrorum Nomocanon a Gregorio Abulpharagio bar-Hebraeo syriace compositus*, pp. 17-18. Two other documents mention the use of the bema during the consecration of the myron: the MSS *Vat. Syr. 51* (1172) and *Borg. Syr. 57* (1686, copied from the former). The clergy are seated not on the bema but in the sanctuary, for the OT readings. They come to the bema for the readings from the NT. Cf. E. R. HAMBYE, *Les chrétiens syro-malabars et le "bima"*, p. 89.

(2) On the Maphrianate, see HINDO, *Éparchies du Maphrianat*, Appendix II in *Fonti*, ser. II, fasc. 26, pp. 517-527. As we have seen, GEORGE was a suffragan of the Maphrian. BAR KEPHA, born in Balad, was later bishop in Mosul and for 10 years visitator of Tikrit. ĞARĪR was from Tikrit itself. BAR SALIBI, born in Melitene, became metropolitan of Amida. IBN ŠAKHŌ was born in Barṭella near Mosul and was a monk and later bishop in nearby Mar Mattai. BAR HEBRAEUS was born in Melitene and later became Maphrian, ending his life in Mar Mattai. Cf. A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922. On Tikrit, cf. also FIEY, *Tagrît, Esquisse d'histoire chrétienne, l'Or. Syrien*. 8, 1963, 289-342.

is an important point. The Maphrianate was relatively independent of the Jacobite Patriarch, and at least as far as the Office and liturgical year is concerned, had its own distinct rite (1). Hence we cannot too hastily apply to the Western-Jacobite tradition Ğarīr's description of the bema of Tikrit.

One final source remains. In 1908 Rahmani published a most interesting Syriac MS describing the rite of reception of a bishop (2). From internal evidence the MS can be dated around the first half of the 6th century, and the strong Greek influence it shows indicates that it is definitely not a Nestorian document. But we cannot therefore conclude that the MS is of Syro-Antiochene provenance. For it also contains evidence of Oriental influence, and hence could well have been written within the Maphrianate of Tikrit (3). Because of its uniqueness, we have reserved discussion of it until now.

According to the document, after the bishop has arrived at the church of the town and has entered it, the deacon proclaims a litany, incense is offered, and then "the bishop mounts to the bema and blesses the assembly with sign of the cross... Coming down from the bema, the bishop goes to the *episcopion*..." (4).

(1) J. MATEOS, *Les matines chaldéennes, maronites et syriennes*, *Or. Christ. Per.*, 26, 1960, pp. 65 ff.

(2) *Ordo quo episcopus urbem inire debet*, ed. I. E. RAHMANI, *Studia Syriaca*, fasc. III, Charfeh, 1908, pp. 1-4 [16-22]. See also the French translation of KHOURI-SARKIS, *Réception d'un évêque syrien au VIe siècle*, *l'Or. Syrien*, 2, 1957, 137-184. There is also a Greek translation in J. M. HANSSENS, *Institutiones liturgicae de ritibus orientalibus*, Rome, 1932, III, pp. 542-543. RAHMANI's edition is based on a recent copy of an 8-9th century MS belonging to the Jacobite church in Mediad near Mardin. Both RAHMANI and KHOURI-SARKIS date the MS as early, at least before the Moslem conquest. KHOURI-SARKIS places it in the 6th century, a date accepted by P.-E. GEMAYEL (*Avant-messe maronite*, Rome, 1965, p. 152).

(3) KHOURI-SARKIS (*Réception*, p. 145 ff) points out the double influence, Greek and Oriental, in the document, and argues that the MS could have originated in a city such as Mayferqaṭ (near Amida) which borders on areas under both Byzantine and Nestorian influence. This see was not within the Maphrianate, which we prefer as a place of origin for the MS because it was in even closer contact with Nestorianism, and at the same time the Office of Tikrit shows far more evidence of Byzantine influence than its Western sister rite.

(4) RAHMANI, *Studia Syriaca*, p. 2 [17]. COQUIN (*Le "bima"*, p. 450) says it is clear from this document that the bishop entered the

These are the only two places where the bema is mentioned in the whole document (1). However, it seems to be implied in the description of the liturgy of the Word, when the lectors are said to " ascend " for the readings.

Where was the bishop during the readings? According to the document, when the introit procession, led by the archdeacon bearing the gospel, leaves the diaconicon, the introit chant is intoned (2), a prayer is said, and the Trisagion is sung. Then the bishop says the prayer before the readings " and sits in his place, and the presbyters sit according to their rank " (3). During the readings the bishop " remains on his throne, and those that are seated remain in their places " (4). Where was this throne? Apparently not in the sanctuary, because after the dismissals and lavabo " the bishop enters and stands before the altar, and immediately the psalmodists begin to sing the alleluia before the mysteries. And as soon as they have arrived at the door of the sanctuary, the veils are opened. And as soon as the mysteries are placed on the altar, the bishop offers incense, and they say the creed " (5). One cannot rule out the possibility that the bishop and priests were seated in the apse and came out perhaps to the bema for the gospel (6), or to the qeṣtrōmā for the lavabo. But the text offers no foundation for such an interpretation.

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church by the southeast door. He undoubtedly did, but this is not at all clear from the text.

(1) KHOURI-SARKIS in his translation interpolates the word bema in various places where this seems to be the sense of the Syriac text, but the word itself is used only twice in the original.

(2) According to the text, " The vigilers begin the office ". RAHMANI, p. 2 [17].

(3) *Loc. cit.*

(4) RAHMANI, pp. 2-3 [19]. There is no mention of ministers going to the sanctuary or diaconicon to fetch the lectionaries, or of any solemn procession with the gospel as in the Chaldean liturgical commentaries.

(5) RAHMANI, pp. 3-4 [22]. In today's West-Syrian rite the lavabo takes place after the entrance, but the lavabo has been a mobile element in the Byzantine and Chaldean traditions also. The document (p. 3 [20-21]) also states that the archdeacon, during the dismissals, carries the gospel which was placed " on the altar ". Does this indicate that in some places there was a Golgotha altar in the Jacobite tradition, in spite of IBN ĞARĪR?

(6) The text (p. 3), merely says that the gospel is read.

The history of the West-Syrian eucharistic liturgy — especially the *ordo communis* — has never been adequately studied, and so it is hard to draw any sure conclusions with respect to the shape of the Jacobite liturgy of the Word (1). The ceremonial described by the document of Rahmani corresponds well to the archeological findings in Region I. And the simplest interpretation of the text would seem to be that the liturgy opened with an introit procession to the bema, where the clergy then sat for the liturgy of the Word. But this interpretation is not certain — and this is the only non-Nestorian literary source that can be interpreted to mean that the clergy sat on the bema for the first part of the mass. As we have seen, there are clear references in Syrian sources to a choir on the bema, or to the readings, but not a word of anyone sitting there for the whole liturgy of the Word.

By the time of Ibn Ğarīr the Jacobite liturgy had developed an extended enarxis or foremass before the readings. It is not clear in Ğarīr whether the ancient introit procession had retained its original place before the readings, or whether the priests came to the bema only for the gospel. But at any rate the text seems to imply that right after the gospel, they returned to the sanctuary. By this time, then, the role of the bema in the liturgy had already been greatly reduced.

And by the time of Bar Salibi it has disappeared entirely, along with the ancient procession, which has been replaced by a procession from the sanctuary, around the church, and back to the sanctuary again, just before the reading of the gospel (2). Bar Salibi is the only one who mentions this procession, and the difficulties to which it gives rise are beyond the scope of our study. Today the Jacobites, like the Byzantines, have retained before the Trisagion a gospel procession as a relic of the old introit, and the apparently misplaced procession of Bar Salibi has disappeared.

(1) Cf. A. RAES, S. J. *L'étude de la liturgie syrienne: son état actuel, Miscellanea Liturgica L. C. Mohlberg*, Rome, 1948, I, p. 335. GEMAYEL (*Avant-messe maronite*) has done some preliminary work (pp. 145-201 esp.) but this is only a beginning. His study is concerned mainly with the Maronite mass. He notes (p. 144) that some Maronite sources mention a bema, but there is no evidence as to whether it was merely an ambon, or a true bema.

(2) LABOURT, *Bar Salibi Expositio*, pp. 19-20 [46].

Conclusion.

In the West-Syrian tradition we find nowhere any unchallengeably clear reference to the fact that the clergy sat or remained on the bema for the liturgy of the Word. And every clear reference to the bishop's throne in the literary sources puts it in the apse, not on the bema. This is the nub of the question.

Nevertheless, the archeological evidence in a small area of the West-Syrian rite proves clearly the existence of a bema on which one could sit. Who sat there can not be proven, but it seems that in this region, from the 4-7th centuries, the physical shape of the Syrian liturgy of the Word was similar — but by no means identical — to that of the Nestorian liturgies described in the commentaries of the East-Syrian tradition. We have seen evidence, however, that this arrangement was not universal even in this region.

Since the liturgical influence in Syria and Mesopotamia generally travelled from West to East, it is likely that the bema passed from West Syria into Mesopotamia, where it was preserved by the Nestorians and the Jacobites of Tikrit long after it had fallen into disuse in the West.

This liturgical disposition seems never to have taken hold in the churches to the south of Apamea. Whether it had once spread north into Orshoëne and the region around the Tur Abdin, only to be wiped out by later Byzantine influence, is unknown. That the Jacobites in this region had a large ambon in the center of the church which was called a bema; that this bema was large enough to hold a number of ministers; that it was used by priests and deacons and psalmodists for readings and litanies and antiphons, and on special feasts for other functions — all this is clear enough. But there is nothing peculiarly "Syrian" about any of it, except the fact that perhaps all the clergy came to the bema for the readings (1).

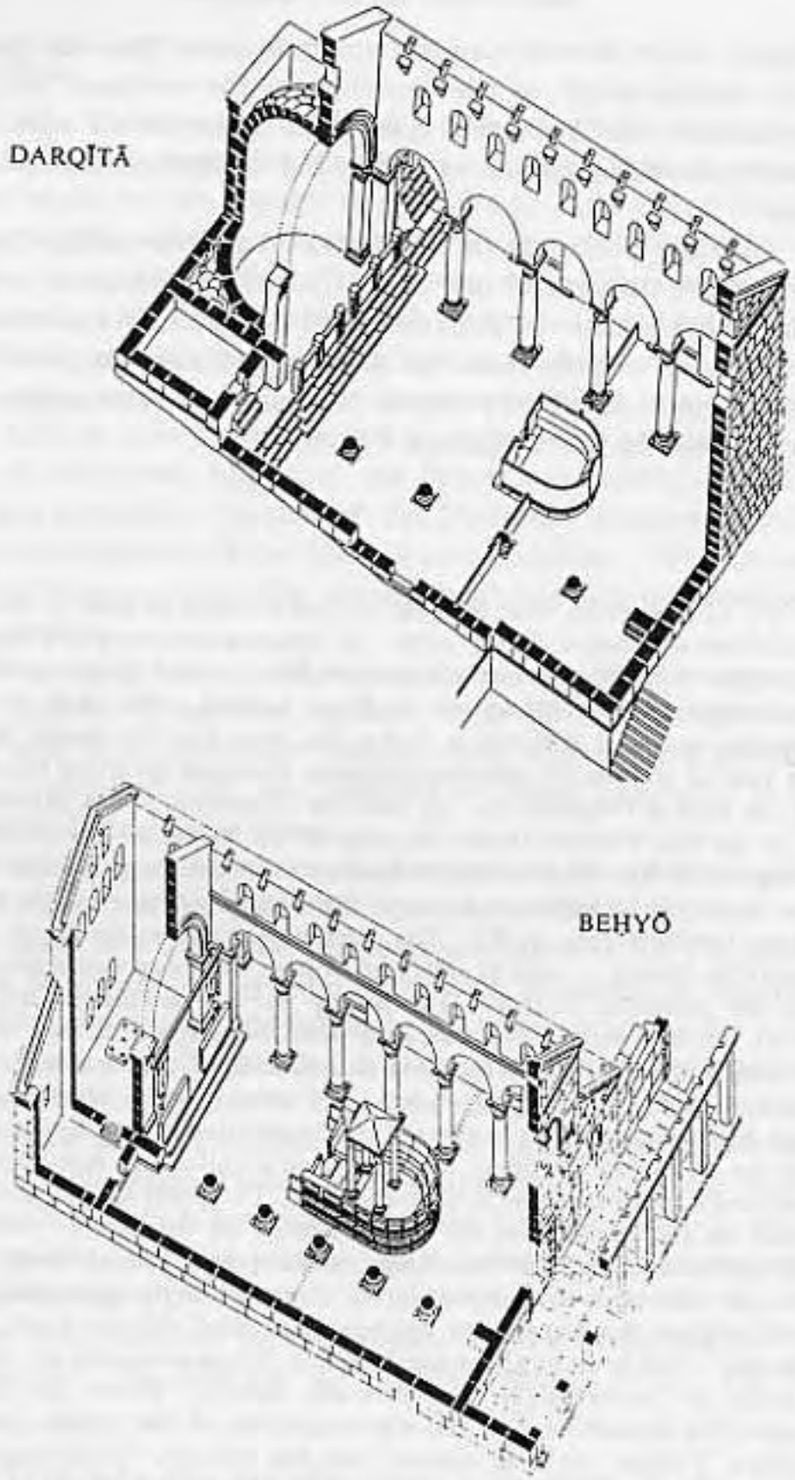
The final solution to the problem of the bema has not yet been found. The case for the Chaldean rite is clear. But the

(1) SCHNEIDER says that the bema in the church of Mar Azizael in the Tur Abdin proves that the Jacobites and Nestorians had the same foremass ritual. This is precisely what it does *not* prove. Cf. *Liturgie u. Kirchenbau*, p. 62.

evidence in the West-Syrian rite points to more than one tradition in the arrangements of the church, and the evidence for an arrangement of the Byzantine type, with throne in the apse, seems clearer and more constant except in the limestone massif of North Syria.

Thus the picture is far from clear, but it is certain that the evidence for the general use in the Jacobite tradition of a church arrangement similar to that described by the Chaldean commentators is far weaker than has been sometimes supposed. And there is not a shred of evidence that such an arrangement was ever adopted in the Byzantine rite (1).

(1) As this article went to press, we had occasion to read L. BOUYER's *Architecture et Liturgie*, Paris, 1967. B. treats extensively the bema and its origins — which do not concern us here — and proposes a bema-arrangement for the Byzantine tradition as well. The lack of critical apparatus makes it difficult to judge the basis for B's thesis, but it is clear that he too readily transfers elements from one tradition to another: e. g. he puts a Golgotha (p. 33) and the Nestorian pulpit arrangement (p. 35) on the Western bema; his plan of the Nestorian church does not correspond to the literary and archeological evidence (p. 30, fig. 2), etc. More serious is his attempt to see a bema-type arrangement in the Byzantine tradition (pp. 54 ff.) The references he gives on p. 56 do not support his theory — and he offers no others. Nor can one argue (p. 59) from the pontifical liturgy. The bishop mounts to the throne *in the apse* at the true introit, the entrance with the gospel; all that precedes is a later addition. The Byzantine church had, of course a large ambon that was used for readings, chants, and other special ceremonies. In Hagia Sophia it was even connected to the sanctuary area by a pathway, as in the E. Syrian tradition. That Syrian architecture and liturgy had its influence in Byzantium is clear enough. The point is, did the clergy remain on the ambon for the whole liturgy of the word? We know of no evidence to support this thesis, attractive as it may seem. True, there are references to Chrysostom at Constantinople preaching seated on the ambon (SOCRATES, *PG* 67, 673; SOZOMEN, *PG* 67, 1528), but it is spoken of as something unusual, which Chrysostom did so he could be heard by everyone in the crowded church. There are parallels between the Byzantine rite and the symbolism of the Syrian bema (cf. JANERAS, *Vestiges du bima syrien*), but the bishop's throne was in the apse. Also, we think HICKLEY wrong in identifying the chancel of some Lebanese churches as a bema (*Sobornost*, nº 6, 1968, p. 412).



Two types of Syrian bema, adapted from G. Tchalenko, E. Baccache, *Églises de village de la Syrie du Nord. Planches* (Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient, Beyrouth-Damas-Amman, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Tome CV, Documents d'archéologie: La Syrie à l'époque de l'Empire romain d'Orient, N° 1, Paris 1979) plates 183, 247.

VIII

On the Use of the Bema in the East-Syrian Liturgy

IN A RECENT article I discussed, largely from an archaeological point of view, the evidence for the 'bema' in the East and West Syrian traditions.[1] This evidence showed that the ancient East-Syrian church had a large, enclosed platform in the middle of the nave. This enclosure contained the bishop's throne at its western end, facing east toward the sanctuary. There were also benches for the concelebrating priests – or at least so it seems – and at the east end, two pulpits for the scriptural readings. In the centre of the platform there was a small altar meant to hold the gospel and cross, and called 'Golgotha', which it was meant to symbolize. This whole structure was connected to the sanctuary by a narrow pathway, the *bet-šqaqona*.

The Nestorian liturgical commentators, especially Gabriel Qatraya (*c.* 615), Abraham bar Lipah (7th cent.), and Pseudo-George of Arbela (9th cent.), have provided us with a description of the liturgy and office sufficiently detailed to give a fairly complete picture of the use of the bema in the Chaldean rite.[2] It is evident from the lay-out of the Chaldean church – nave divided by a north–south barrier into two sections for the men and women, and obstructed in the middle by a large bema – that a processional introit through a door in the west wall and down the centre of the nave to the sanctuary is out of the question. In fact, there was usually no entrance at all in the west wall.[3] Nor does it appear that the clergy ordinarily made any processional entrance into the church. The description of the eucharistic liturgy begins with the clergy already in the sanctuary, and the introit procession does not go from nave to sanctuary, but in the reverse direction, from the sanctuary to the bema in the nave. (II, 7 [10] ff.)

[1] R. Taft, 'Some Notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Traditions', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, xxxiv (1968), pp. 326–59. A lengthy bibliography is given there (pp. 326, n. 1 and 359, n. 1).

[2] The commentary of Qatraya has never been published. It is being edited at present by S. H. Jammo with the collaboration of J. Mateos, SJ. Jammo gives a Latin version of part of the commentary in his yet unpublished doctoral dissertation, 'Gabrielis Qatarensis Bar Lipah Interpretatio Officiorum', in S. H. Jammo, *La structure de la messe chaldéenne selon les anciens documents. Partie préanaphorale* (Roma, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1968), pp. 26–47. For the commentaries of Abraham bar Lipah and Ps.-George, cf. R. H. Connolly (ed.), *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta, accedit Abrahae Bar Lipheh Interpretatio Officiorum, CSCO, Scriptores siri series II*, 91–2 (Paris/Leipzig 1911–15). For convenience, I shall refer to these two volumes as I and II, and references to the Latin translation will be given in brackets. For the dates of these commentaries we are following the opinion of Jammo (*op. cit.*, p. 48), to whom I am indebted for much of our information on the history of the East-Syrian Mass.

[3] Taft, 'Some Notes on the Bema', pp. 332, 336, 341, n. 2

The Use of the Bema in the Eucharistic Liturgy

Today's East-Syrian eucharistic liturgy, in which the bema is no longer used, opens in the following manner.[4]

Preparatory prayers (LEW, p. 252, 9–36)
Prayer of preparation for the clergy (LEW, p. 253, 4–8)
marmita (=a sub-section of the psalter, comprising usually three psalms) (LEW, p. 253, 10–15)
aqqapta.
Prayer of the 'onita d-qanke (LEW, p. 253, 17–26)
'onita d-qanke (also called 'onita d-kursya, literally antiphon of the chancel or of the throne, the equivalent of the Latin *antiphona ad introitum*)[5] (LEW, pp. 253, 29–254, 17)
[*Pax nobiscum*, opening of the sanctuary veil, procession to the bema, and veneration of the cross were formerly here.]
Imposition of incense
Prayer *'Et cum redolet nobis'* (festive) or *'Et propter'* (ferial) (LEW, p. 254, 19–26, and note a)
Hymn *'Laku Mara'* (LEW, p. 255, 8–12). During the hymn the Nestorians venerate the cross.
Collect of the *'Laku Mara'* hymn: *'Domine tu es vere'* (LEW, p. 255, 8–12)
Trisagion (LEW, p. 255, 15–23)
Readings and accompanying chants (now done on the qestroma or platform before the sanctuary; hence the gospel procession is greatly reduced)
Litany, collect, and prayer of inclination (LEW, pp. 262, 4–267, 22)
Dismissals (announced from the sanctuary door by two ministers bearing cross and gospel, and accompanied by two acolytes) (LEW, p. 267, 25–28)
'onita d-raze (=antiphon of the mysteries, corresponding to the Roman *antiphona ad offertorium*) (LEW, p. 267, 30 ff.)
Lavabo[6] (LEW, p. 271, 13)

[4]On the basis of Jammo's dissertation, and also with the help of W. Macomber, SJ, of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, who has studied the East-Syrian liturgical MSS. in Europe and the Middle East, we have introduced certain changes into the *ordo* of the liturgy as found in Brightman (*Liturgies Eastern and Western* [Oxford 1896], pp. 252 ff.). I shall refer to Brightman henceforth as LEW.

[5]Strictly speaking the 'onita is the refrain, like the Byzantine troparion, which is repeated after the verses of the psalmody. After the *Gloria Patri* at the end of the introit verses a different refrain is sung. On Chaldean liturgical terminology, see the glossary in J. Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra. Essai d'interprétation des matines chaldéennes* (Rome 1959), pp. 485–502.

[6]The *lavabo* is found in various places in the MS. tradition – before or during the creed, during the commemorations, etc. – or else it is not mentioned at all. We believe it should be here, and certainly not where Brightman (p. 271) puts it, after the creed. But it must be remembered that such problems of the *ordo* in today's liturgies often result from the impossibility for one priest, celebrating alone, to do all at once a number of functions designed to be carried out simultaneously by a whole group of ministers of various ranks. Cf. Jammo, *La structure de la messe chaldéenne*, pp. 190 ff.

Adoration of the bema[7] (LEW, p. 269, 1 ff.)
Meanwhile, transfer, deposition, and covering of the gifts on the altar, with prayers (LEW, p. 267, 29 ff.)
Rite of access to sanctuary [today the priest, already at the altar, descends to mid-sanctuary for this rite]
Creed (LEW, p. 270, 30 ff.)
Rite of access to the altar (LEW, p. 271, 9 ff.)
[From this point on, the liturgy is centred on the the altar.]

This schema, like that of most contemporary liturgies, seems far removed from the simple structure of the primitive liturgy of the Word. But a study of the early Chaldean documents should permit us to disengage the more primitive elements and ceremonial of the liturgy of the Word in the Chaldean rite.

The real beginning of the liturgy was the 'Introductory Prayer for the People', said aloud by the bishop before the altar. Then came the *'Pax nobiscum'* of the deacon and the lifting of the sanctuary veil. As in all rites, the initial prayers of preparation of the clergy are private and not primitive. The marmita is also an extraneous element, like the antiphons and litanies which in the Byzantine rite precede the relic of the true introit, the 'Minor Entrance'. This section of psalmody in the Nestorian liturgy seems to be a monastic element. According to J. Mateos it is probably a remnant of the ancient terce and was sung by the clergy while they awaited the arrival of the bishop.[8] Upon his arrival the bishop immediately said the prayer for the clergy. The two clerics, one on the bema and the other in the sanctuary, who had been executing the psalmody, stop and shift tone to chant the aqqapta, two psalm verses chanted to accompany the bishop's entrance. Then the bishop recited the introit prayer or prayer of preparation for the people. What of the introit procession?

Because of the peculiar structure of the Nestorian liturgy, in which the introit procession went not into but out of the sanctuary, to the bema, the disappearance of the bema and the removal of the liturgy of the Word to the front of the church inevitably led to its disappearance.

But in the time of Gabriel Qatraya (*c.* 615), immediately after the raising of the veil the clergy, preceded by candles, incense, and cross, left the

[7]According to Fr Macomber the adoration of the bema has not been discovered in any MS. earlier than *Zakho 167* [=*Berlin 38*] (A.D. 1496) which is now in Tübingen. Cf. Douglas Webb, 'Variations dans les versions manuscrits de la liturgie nestorienne d'Addai et de Mari', *Sacris Erudiri*, xviii (1967–8), pp. 487 ff. Webb gives the full text of the rite as found in the MS. *Cambridge Add. 1984* (A.D. 1707) (*art. cit.*, pp. 482–3). As Jammo has pointed out, this rite of 'adoration of the bema', a series of apparently meaningless gestures when a priest is celebrating alone, was formerly a ritual expressing gratitude and humility on the part of the concelebrant chosen to say the anaphora on that particular day, and congratulations to him from the other concelebrants (cf. Jammo, *La structure de la messe chaldéenne*, pp. 200 ff.).

[8]Cf. J. Mateos, 'Les différentes espèces de vigiles dans le rite chaldéen', *Or. Chr. Per.*, xxvii (1961), p. 47, n. 3; 'L'office paroissial du matin et du soir dans le rite chaldéen', *La Maison Dieu*, lxiv (1960), p. 77; 'L'office divin chez les chaldéens', in *La prière des heures* (=*Lex Orandi*, xxxv: Paris 1963), p. 258; P.-E. Gemayel, *Avant-messe maronite* (Rome 1965), pp. 205 ff.

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aqqapta.
Prayer of the 'onita d-qanke (LEW, p. 253, 17–26)
'onita d-qanke (also called 'onita d-kursya, literally antiphon of the chancel or of the throne, the equivalent of the Latin *antiphona ad introitum*)[5] (LEW, pp. 253, 29–254, 17)
[*Pax nobiscum*, opening of the sanctuary veil, procession to the bema, and veneration of the cross were formerly here.]
Imposition of incense
Prayer '*Et cum redolet nobis*' (festive) or '*Et propter*' (ferial) (LEW, p. 254, 19–26, and note a)
Hymn '*Laku Mara*' (LEW, p. 255, 8–12). During the hymn the Nestorians venerate the cross.
Collect of the '*Laku Mara*' hymn: '*Domine tu es vere*' (LEW, p. 255, 8–12)
Trisagion (LEW, p. 255, 15–23)
Readings and accompanying chants (now done on the qestroma or platform before the sanctuary; hence the gospel procession is greatly reduced)
Litany, collect, and prayer of inclination (LEW, pp. 262, 4–267, 22)
Dismissals (announced from the sanctuary door by two ministers bearing cross and gospel, and accompanied by two acolytes) (LEW, p. 267, 25–28)
'onita d-raze (=antiphon of the mysteries, corresponding to the Roman *antiphona ad offertorium*) (LEW, p. 267, 30 ff.)
Lavabo[6] (LEW, p. 271, 13)

[4]On the basis of Jammo's dissertation, and also with the help of W. Macomber, SJ, of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, who has studied the East-Syrian liturgical MSS. in Europe and the Middle East, we have introduced certain changes into the *ordo* of the liturgy as found in Brightman (*Liturgies Eastern and Western* [Oxford 1896], pp. 252 ff.). I shall refer to Brightman henceforth as LEW.

[5]Strictly speaking the 'onita is the refrain, like the Byzantine troparion, which is repeated after the verses of the psalmody. After the *Gloria Patri* at the end of the introit verses a different refrain is sung. On Chaldean liturgical terminology, see the glossary in J. Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra, Essai d'interprétation des matines chaldéennes* (Rome 1959), pp. 485–502.

[6]The *lavabo* is found in various places in the MS. tradition – before or during the creed, during the commemorations, etc. – or else it is not mentioned at all. We believe it should be here, and certainly not where Brightman (p. 271) puts it, after the creed. But it must be remembered that such problems of the *ordo* in today's liturgies often result from the impossibility for one priest, celebrating alone, to do all at once a number of functions designed to be carried out simultaneously by a whole group of ministers of various ranks. Cf. Jammo, *La structure de la messe chaldéenne*, pp. 190 ff.

Adoration of the bema[7] (LEW, p. 269, 1 ff.)
Meanwhile, transfer, deposition, and covering of the gifts on the altar, with prayers (LEW, p. 267, 29 ff.)
Rite of access to sanctuary [today the priest, already at the altar, descends to mid-sanctuary for this rite]
Creed (LEW, p. 270, 30 ff.)
Rite of access to the altar (LEW, p. 271, 9 ff.)
[From this point on, the liturgy is centred on the the altar.]

This schema, like that of most contemporary liturgies, seems far removed from the simple structure of the primitive liturgy of the Word. But a study of the early Chaldean documents should permit us to disengage the more primitive elements and ceremonial of the liturgy of the Word in the Chaldean rite.

The real beginning of the liturgy was the 'Introductory Prayer for the People', said aloud by the bishop before the altar. Then came the '*Pax nobiscum*' of the deacon and the lifting of the sanctuary veil. As in all rites, the initial prayers of preparation of the clergy are private and not primitive. The marmita is also an extraneous element, like the antiphons and litanies which in the Byzantine rite precede the relic of the true introit, the 'Minor Entrance'. This section of psalmody in the Nestorian liturgy seems to be a monastic element. According to J. Mateos it is probably a remnant of the ancient terce and was sung by the clergy while they awaited the arrival of the bishop.[8] Upon his arrival the bishop immediately said the prayer for the clergy. The two clerics, one on the bema and the other in the sanctuary, who had been executing the psalmody, stop and shift tone to chant the aqqapta, two psalm verses chanted to accompany the bishop's entrance. Then the bishop recited the introit prayer or prayer of preparation for the people. What of the introit procession?

Because of the peculiar structure of the Nestorian liturgy, in which the introit procession went not into but out of the sanctuary, to the bema, the disappearance of the bema and the removal of the liturgy of the Word to the front of the church inevitably led to its disappearance.

But in the time of Gabriel Qatraya (*c.* 615), immediately after the raising of the veil the clergy, preceded by candles, incense, and cross, left the

[7]According to Fr Macomber the adoration of the bema has not been discovered in any MS. earlier than *Zakho 167* [=*Berlin 38*] (A.D. 1496) which is now in Tübingen. Cf. Douglas Webb, 'Variations dans les versions manuscrits de la liturgie nestorienne d'Addai et de Mari', *Sacris Erudiri*, xviii (1967–8), pp. 487 ff. Webb gives the full text of the rite as found in the MS. *Cambridge Add. 1984* (A.D. 1707) (*art. cit.*, pp. 482–3). As Jammo has pointed out, this rite of 'adoration of the bema', a series of apparently meaningless gestures when a priest is celebrating alone, was formerly a ritual expressing gratitude and humility on the part of the concelebrant chosen to say the anaphora on that particular day, and congratulations to him from the other concelebrants (cf. Jammo, *La structure de la messe chaldéenne*, pp. 200 ff.).

[8]Cf. J. Mateos, 'Les différentes espèces de vigiles dans le rite chaldéen', *Or. Chr. Per.*, xxvii (1961), p. 47, n. 3; 'L'office paroissial du matin et du soir dans le rite chaldéen', *La Maison Dieu*, lxiv (1960), p. 77; 'L'office divin chez les chaldéens', in *La prière des heures* (=*Lex Orandi*, xxxv: Paris 1963), p. 258; P.-E. Gemayel, *Avant-messe maronite* (Rome 1965), pp. 205 ff.

subdeacons step aside and allow the higher clergy to precede them into the sanctuary, but the readers remain on the qestroma and intone the creed.

The rest of the liturgy takes place in the sanctuary, though the deacons come out to proclaim the diptychs, etc., and 'Michael' returns to the bema to direct the people during the anaphora, re-entering the sanctuary only at communion (II, 54-6 [52-3], 60 [56], 62 [58], 69-70 [64], 77 [71] ff.). At communion time the šahhare or 'vigilers' mount the bema to chant the communion antiphon, which is called even today the 'onita d-bema (lit. 'response of the bema') (II, 85 [77-8]). The *Expositio* also states that in some places the priest brings communion to the clergy – he does not specify whom – remaining on the bema. This was prescribed by Išo'yahb III (d. *c.* 660), but the author states that it is not followed everywhere (II, 88 [80]).

From this description it is not difficult to find in today's liturgical order the remnants of a more ancient structure: the opening of the veil and introit antiphon which formerly accompanied the procession to the bema; a relic of the gospel procession and, at the dismissals today, its return to the sanctuary; the 'onita d-raze, adoration of the bema, along with today's confusing rite of access to the altar, in which the priest descends from the altar (where he should not have been in the first place) and then returns to it – all remnants of the ancient procession from the bema to the altar for the anaphora. But it is not our purpose to dissect in detail the Nestorian liturgy and trace the evolution of its ritual. We have already seen enough to make clear the place of the bema in the ancient structure of the Chaldean rite.

This structure showed a fine sense of ceremonial and clarity, eminently suited to the cathedral nature of its offices. Liturgically the eucharistic altar had nothing whatever to do with the liturgy of the Word, and the celebration of this rite at the bema – or better, the use of sanctuary and altar only for that part of the Eucharist for which they were destined – shows a grasp of the nature of liturgy that is sadly lacking in the present muddled state of most rites. By separating clearly the *locus* of the anaphora and that of the liturgy of the Word, the nature of the latter is also made clear. All are on an equal footing before the Word of God, all are in need of its purifying effect (Jn 15:3) before approaching the eucharistic table. Hence it is the Word of God, and not any human minister, who is the protagonist of the liturgy of the Word. The bishop presides as head of the assembly. But he is as much in need of hearing God's Word as anyone else – on occasion more so, as Church history abundantly attests! His special function is to preside and, as representative of the gathering, to sum up in prayer their petitions. Even in its already clearly clericalized form, as described in the *Expositio*, the Chaldean tradition, by seating the clergy in the nave among the people for the readings, gives a better concrete expression of the nature of the liturgy of the Word than does the physical disposition of the church in most other rites.

The Use of the Bema in the Chaldean Office

On the basis of this principle, that the altar is the place proper to the anaphora, we can expect to find an even broader use of the bema in the Chaldean cathedral offices.[14] We will content ourselves with only a general outline of these offices.

All three cathedral offices of the Chaldean rite are rich in ceremonial, as befits their popular nature, and this ceremonial is centred on the bema and the comings and goings to and from it. Without the bema, almost all the popular ceremonial of these offices is destroyed.

(a) *Vespers*

The beginning of Vespers (ramša) was similar to the first part of the liturgy of the Word.[15] The office opens with the monastic psalmody (1-2 marmyata), in reality the remains of none and hence an extraneous adjunct to the cathedral office of ramša. The true cathedral office begins, like the Mass, with the raising of the outer sanctuary veil. Then the entrance hymn *'Sicut fragrantiam'* was intoned until the procession, similar to the introit procession of the Mass, had arrived at the bema and the bishop was seated on his throne. Then followed the *lucernarium*, when the vesperal lamp on the qestroma before the sanctuary door was lighted with flame brought from the ever-burning lamp in the sanctuary, and a prayer was said to Christ, light of the world.[16] Then came the prayer of incense and the incensation, the *Laku Mara* hymn, the vesperal psalms, and, in the festive office, the accompanying ecclesiastical poetry. The service was concluded with the intercession (diaconal litanies, collect and *Trisagion*) and final benediction or prayer of inclination – all at the bema. After the inclination prayer the veil of the sanctuary was closed, indicating the true end of the office.[17]

[14]As in all rites, morning and evening prayer are in origin not monastic but 'cathedral' offices, to use the term coined by Baumstark. The same is true of the Cathedral Vigil. That is, they are the prayer of the whole Christian community, and in fact antedate the organization of the monastic office, which later fused with the cathedral offices. The Chaldean tradition considered the hours of ramša (Vespers) and sapra (Matins) as obligatory for all the faithful (cf. *Expositio*, I, 132 [106]). The bema is used for these cathedral offices, not for the monastic hours, which were normally celebrated in the narthex (Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 426). With respect to this, it is interesting to note that in North Syria no bema has ever been found in a monastic church (cf. Taft, 'Some Notes on the Bema', p. 348). Our outline of these offices is based on the commentaries cited, as well as on the studies of Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra*, 'Les différentes espèces de vigiles', 'L'office paroissial', L'office divin chez les chaldéens'; and Jammo, L'office du soir'.

[15]For the office of Vespers (tešmešta d-ramša), cf. *Interpretatio*, II, 163 [151] ff.; *Expositio*, I, 157 [125]-212 [171] *passim*, esp. 157 [125] ff; 164 [131] ff; 199 [159] ff. We are following the description of the office in the time of Qatraya as given in Jammo, 'L'office du soir'.

[16]This rite is parallel to the Jerusalem *lucernarium* as described by Egeria (ed. Pétré, *Journal de Voyage, Sources chrétiennes* xxi [Paris 1948], ch. 24, 4, pp. 191-3). The symbolism of this rite was obscured by the time of the *Expositio*, when it had evolved into a solemn procession to the bema with candles, incense, etc., like the introit of the eucharistic liturgy. Cf. Jammo, 'L'office du soir', pp. 188 ff., 206.

[17]For the other ceremonies that have been added to the end of this office, see Mateos, 'L'office paroissial', p. 78; Jammo, 'L'office du soir', pp. 193ff, 200, 208ff.

The parallels between the *ordo* of ramša and the opening of the eucharistic liturgy, as both are described by Gabriel Qatraya, have been pointed out in an article by S. H. Jammo.[18]

Ramša:	*Liturgy:*
marmita	marmita
Pax nobiscum	*Pax nobiscum*
opening of veil	opening of veil
procession with candle and incense	procession with two candles, incense, and cross
Prayer '*Lux quae apparuisti in terra*' (text lost)	
Prayer '*Et cum redolet nobis*' ... '*Et propter*'	Prayer '*Et cum redolet nobis*' (festive) '*Et propter*' (ferial)
Hymn '*Laku Mara*'	Hymn '*Laku Mara*'
Collect '*Domine, tu es vere*'	Collect '*Domine, tu es vere*'

(b) *The Cathedral Vigil*

The Cathedral Vigil or qale d-šahra consists of:[19]

opening of sanctuary doors and veil
the bishop proceeds to the bema
3 marmyata (originally composed of OT canticles) followed by prayers, all at bema
procession from bema to sanctuary and chant of 'onita
šubbaha (psalm with refrain)
tešbohta (=*gloria*, a poetic composition)
litany and prayer

There are remarkable similarities between this vigil and the Sunday vigil of Jerusalem described by Egeria.[20]

Egeria:	*East Syrian vigil:*
entrance of bishop	entrance of bishop to bema
three 'psalms'[21] and prayers	three canticles and prayers
Commemoratio omnium	
gospel	
procession to the cross with hymn	procession to sanctuary with 'onita
psalm	psalm with refrain
	tešbohta
prayer	litany and prayer

[18]Jammo, 'L'office du soir', pp. 203ff.
[19]Cf. *Expositio*, I, 230–1 [185–6], II, 122–3 [111]. The vigil is now celebrated in the narthex, probably as a result of the disappearance of the bema. Cf. Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 426.
[20]*Journal*, ed. Pétré, p. 198. Cf. Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra*, pp. 429ff.; 'La vigile cathédrale chez Egérie', *Or. Chr. Per.*, xxvii (1961), pp. 281–312, esp. p. 301; 'L'office divin chez les chaldéens', pp. 275ff.
[21]Here 'psalms' is not to be taken in the strict sense. Cf. Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 431, n. 1; 'La vigile chez Egérie', p. 284.

According to J. Mateos, the procession to the sanctuary in the Chaldean vigil is an adaptation of the procession from the Holy Sepulchre to Calvary.[22] It should be noted, however, that among the East Syrians its original meaning was lost. It is even contradicted by the traditional Nestorian symbolism in which the bema altar represents Golgotha, and the rite of the bema represents the earthly life of the Lord accomplished in Jerusalem. The ministers go to the sanctuary to indicate that the ascension has taken place, for the sanctuary represents heaven (*Expositio*, I, 224 [180], 231 [186]). Of course, all of this symbolism is artificial.

(c) *Matins*

Matins (tešmešta d-sapra) is structured as follows:[23]

Psalms of Matins (99, 90, 103, 112, 92, 148 [149], 150, 116)
'onita d-sapra or *Laku Mara*
hymns of light
Benedicite or *Miserere*
Gloria in excelsis or tešbohta
Trisagion, etc.

At the beginning the bishop and clergy are in the sanctuary. After psalm 112, all the lamps are lighted, the bishop solemnly intones psalm 92, and while it is being sung, the bishop and clergy proceed to the bema where the rest of the office is accomplished.

From this study we can see what an important place the bema had in the offices of the East Syrian Church. When did the bema fall into disuse? Perhaps in the 14th century, after the Mongol invasion, when the Nestorian catholicos took refuge in northern Mesopotamia, and the centre of gravity of the nation shifted from the great cities of Mesopotamia to the small villages of the north, where the churches were too small or too poor to have a bema.[24] The 9th century *Expositio* is the last important Nestorian commentary we have, but the rite of 'Adoration of the Bema' in the eucharistic liturgy first appears in liturgical MSS. of the 16th century, which would seem to indicate that the bema was still in use in some churches at that time.[25] The disposition of the church of Tahra in Mosul represents perhaps a transitional stage in the decline of the bema. When the church was rearranged in the 18th century, the bema pulpits were removed to a platform built into the west end of the church; there is no Golgotha.[26]

[22]Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 431, and 'La vigile chez Egérie', p. 307.
[23]*Expositio*, I, 213 [172] ff., 224–5 [181]; *Interpretatio*, II, 168 [155] ff. We give only a general outline here. For variations, see Mateos, 'Les matines chaldéennes, maronites et syriennes', *Or. Chr. Per.*, xxvi (1960), pp. 52–4; *Lelya-Sapra*, pp. 392–3.
[24]Dauvillier, 'L'ambon ou bêmâ', pp. 25–6.
[25]We have this information from Fr Macomber. The East Syrian liturgical MSS. that he has studied refer to the bema as if still in use right up until the 19th century. See also note 7 above.
[26]J. M. Fiey, *Mossoul Chrétienne* (Beyrouth, n.d.), p. 78.

In modern Chaldean churches, the pulpits are located in the choir before the qestroma.[27] But would it not be desirable that in any future reform of the East-Syrian rite, serious thought be given to the possibility of returning to the older and clearly superior 'shape' of the liturgy which we have tried to describe in this brief study?

[27]The scriptural lessons at the eucharistic liturgy, however, are not read from these pulpits, but from the qestroma, without the use of any pulpit at all.

IX

The Interpolation of the Sanctus into the Anaphora: When and Where? A Review of the Dossier (*)

Part I

In memory of Gérard Garitte † 27.VII.1990, and Edouard R. Hambye, S.J. † 7.IX.1990. "Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae" (JULIUS CAESAR, *De bello gallico* I.1)

A. INTRODUCTION

I. THE SANCTUS

Since Late Antiquity, eucharistic anaphoras have traditionally concluded the opening section of the eucharistic prayer – the "Pre-

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I also express my deepest appreciation to The Reverend Dr. Brian D. Spinks of Cambridge for permitting Prof. Aidan Kavanagh, O.S.B., of Yale University, to show me the typescript of chapters 4-5 of his then still unpublished book, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge University Press 1991). I am equally grateful to Prof. Kavanagh for sending me a copy of these chapters. The book appeared just as this article was going to press.

face," in western terminology – with the liturgical Sanctus/Benedictus, which in the Byzantine Greek text(1) reads:

(1) PE 224, 232.

Though Spinks and I cover much of the same material, we do so in somewhat different ways, and not always with the same conclusions. He devotes two entire chapters (1-2) to the Jewish antecedents and four (7-10) to later and western developments, which are beyond the scope of my study, chiefly concerned with how the Sanctus, whatever its origins, got into the anaphora.

Abbreviations

AC = *Antike und Christentum.*

AM = The East Syrian Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari (see W. F. Macomber, *The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari*, OCP 32 (1966) 335-371).

ApConst = *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, ed. M. Metzger, Tome 1: Livres I-II (SC 320, Paris 1985); Tome 2: Livres III-VI (SC 329, Paris 1986); Tome 3: Livres V-VIII (SC 336, Paris 1987).

APSyr = The Syriac Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles (I).

ApTrad = *The Apostolic Tradition*, see Botte.

BAS = The Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil (specified as ByzBAS when discussed in conjunction with Coptic BAS or EgBAS, = Egyptian Greek BAS).

BELS 19 = B. D. Spinks (ed.), *The Sacrifice of Praise. Studies on the Themes of Thanksgiving and Redemption in the Central Prayers of the Eucharistic and Baptismal Liturgies.* In Honour of Arthur Herbert Couratin (Bibliotheca EL, Subsidia 19, Rome 1981).

Botte = B. Botte, *La Tradition apostolique de S. Hippolyte. Essai de reconstitution* (LQF 3, Münster 1963).

Bouyer, *Eucharist* = L. Bouyer *Eucharist. Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Notre Dame-London 1968).

CHR = The Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

Campbell = Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, trans. T. L. Campbell (Lanham MD-NY-London 1981).

Connolly, *Narsai* = *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, translated into English with an introduction by R. H. Connolly. With an appendix by Edmund Bishop (Texts and Studies VIII.1, Cambridge 1909).

Cuming, MK = G. J. Cuming (ed.), *The Liturgy of St. Mark*, edited from the manuscripts with a commentary (OCA 234, Rome 1990).

Dix, *Consecration Prayers* = G. Dix, *Primitive Consecration Prayers, Theology* 37 (1938) 261-283.

EL = *Ephemerides liturgicae.*

Gamber, *Eucharistiegebete* = K. Gamber, *Älteste Eucharistiegebete der lateinischer Osterliturgie*, in: B. Fischer, J. Wagner (eds.), *Paschatis sollemnia. Studien zu Osterfeier und Osterfrömmigkeit.* J. A. Jungmann zum 70. Geburtstag (Basel-Freiburg-Vienna 1959) 159-78.

I.1. Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ,	**1.** Holy, holy, holy Lord Sabaoth,
2. πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου.	**2.** full [are] *the heaven and* the earth of *your* glory!
II.3. Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.	**3.** Hosanna *in the highest*!
4. Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.	**4.** Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!
5. Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.	**5.** Hosanna in the highest!

Gerhards = A. Gerhards, *Die griechische Gregoriosanaphora. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Eucharistischen Hochgebets* (LQF 65, Münster 1984).

Giraudo, *Struttura* = C. Giraudo, *La struttura letteraria della preghiera eucaristica. Saggio sulla genesi letteraria di una forma. Toda veterotestamentaria, beraka giudaica, anafora cristiana* (Analecta Biblica 92, Rome 1981).

GREG = The Alexandrian Anaphora of St. Gregory, in Greek and Coptic (see Gerhards).

Hanssens I-III = J.-M. Hanssens, *Institutiones liturgicae de ritibus orientalibus* II-III (Rome 1930, 1932).

Hammerschmidt, *Formkriterium* = E. Hammerschmidt, *Das liturgische Formkriterium. Ein Prinzip in der Erforschung orientalischer Liturgien, Studia Patristica* 5 (TU 80, Berlin 1962) 50-68.

JAS = The Liturgy of St. James, in the Greek redaction unless otherwise specified (see PO 26.2).

Jungmann, MS I-II = J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite. Missarum sollemnia*, 2 vols. (New York 1951, 1955).

Kähler, *Te Deum* = E. Kähler, *Studien zum Te Deum und zur Geschichte des 24. Psalms in der alten Kirche* (Veröffentlichungen der Evangelischen Gesellschaft für Liturgieforschung 10, Göttingen 1958).

Kretschmar, *Studien* = G. Kretschmar, *Studien zum frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 21, Tübingen 1956).

PE = A. Häggi, I. Pahl, *Prex eucharistica* (Spicilegium Friburgense 12, Fribourg 1968).

PO 26.2 = B.-Ch. Mercier, *La Liturgie de S. Jacques.* Edition critique, avec traduction latine (PO 26.2, Paris 1946), 115-256.

Ratcliff, LS = E. C. Ratcliff, *Liturgical Studies*, ed. A. H. Couratin, D. H. Tripp (London 1976).

Ratcliff, *Note* = Id., *A Note on the Anaphoras described in the Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, in J. N. Birdsall, R. W. Thomson (eds.), *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (Freiburg B. 1963) 235-249 = Ratcliff, LS 66-79.

Part **I.1-2** of this dual chant is the biblical Sanctus of LXX Is 6:3 with the Christian gloss "*the heaven and* the earth" replacing the LXX reading "the *whole* (πᾶσα) earth" [2], and modified by the shift from the third person "*his* glory: δόξης αὐτοῦ" to direct address via the second person singular: "*your* glory: δόξης σου" [2]. Expansions of this base text are frequent enough in East and West,(2) especially the common interpolation of "God" – "Lord *God* Sabaoth" – found among the Latins and in all three Syriac traditions. These are all later developments, not indications of an earlier Urtext of different provenance, and need not concern us here.

II. The Hosanna/Benedictus

Part **II.3-5**, traditionally appended to this Sanctus outside the related traditions of Egypt and Ethiopia,(3) comprises the Hosanna/Benedictus/Hosanna finale [3-5] of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem sequence. The text is from Mt 21:9, except that the first

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Ratcliff, *Original Form* = Id., *The Original Form of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: A Suggestion*, JTS 30 (1929) 23-32 = Ratcliff, LS 80-90.

SC 320, 329, 336, see *ApConst*.

Smith, *ApTrad re-considered* = M. A. Smith, *The Anaphora of "Apostolic Tradition" re-considered*, *Studia Patristica* 10 (TU 107, Berlin 1970) 426-430.

Spinks, *Original Form* = B. D. Spinks, *The Original Form of the Anaphora of the Apostles: A Suggestion in the Light of Maronite Sharar*, EL 91 (1977) 146-161.

Spinks, *Sanctus* = Id., *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge 1991).

Spinks, *Sources* = Id., *The Jewish Sources for the Sanctus*, *The Heythrop Journal* 21 (1980) 168-179;

TQ = *Theologische Quartalschrift*.

Werner, *Genesis* = E. Werner, *The Genesis of the Liturgical Sanctus*, in: J. A. Westrup (ed.), *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz* (Oxford 1966) 19-32.

(2) For the East, they are listed in Hanssens III, 393-5 (nos. 1255-6); cf. also the respective liturgies in PE, Brightman, *passim*; Latin texts in PE 469, 499. On the relation of the liturgical to the biblical text, and the various Sanctus recensions, see S. Brock, *The Thrice-holy Hymn in the Liturgy*, *Sobornost* 7.2 (1985) 24-34.

(3) Cf. PE 110, 120, 124, 130, 136, 140, 147.

Hosannah [3] is the same as the second [5], whereas in Mt 21:9 the first reads "Hosanna *to the son of David.*" One exception to this general rule is the East-Syrian tradition, which doubles the first member [3] to "Hosanna in the highest and hosanna to the son of David."(4)

What was said above about Sanctus variants being later developments holds equally for those in the Benedictus. They consist in:

1. Problems resulting from translating "hosanna."
2. Shifts from third to second person singular.
3. Doubling of the verb in various tenses (East/West-Syrian and Coptic GREG: "he who came and will come;" Armenian: "you who came and will come;" Syro-Malabar and Coptic: "who comes and is coming"), (5) all doubtless in imitation of JAS: ὁ ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐρχόμενος.(6) The variant is reported as early as 513-518 by Severus of Antioch, *Hom. 90.*(7)

III. The Egyptian Sanctus

That is not at all true, however, of the Egyptian peculiarity, the Sanctus *without Benedictus*. This is no mere textual emendation or secondary variant, but a distinct, indigenous, Alexandrian Sanctus tradition in which the hymn, unlike the Sanctus in some other anaphoras, is integral to the very structure of the Egyptian-type eucharistic prayer,(8) leading as it does to the indigenous first epiclesis:

(4) Hanssens III, 394 (no. 1256); Brightman 284.14.

(5) Cf. Hanssens III, 394-5 (no. 1256).

(6) This interpolation into the Greek Sanctus of JAS first appears in the 12th c. "Rossano Codex" *Vat. Gr. 1970* (the earlier 9th c. *Vat. Gr. 2282*, earliest ms of JAS, gives only the incipit of the Sanctus), and the interpolated variant is not found in the 15th c. *Paris Gr. 2509*: PO 26.2:200 and apparatus; cf. PE 246.

(7) PO 23:133; cf. G. J. Cuming, "The Liturgy of Antioch in the time of Severus (513-518)", in J. N. Alexander (ed.), *Time and Community. In Honor of Thomas Julian Talley* (Washington DC 1990) 89.

(8) I.e. those anaphoras like Greek Sarapion and MK, Coptic Cyril, etc. (PE 110, 120, 124, 130, 136, 140, 147) that are native Egyptian/Ethiopian

SARAPION: May the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit speak in us and hymn you through us, for you are above every principality and power and virtue and dominion and every name that is named, not only in this age but also in the age to come. Before you stand thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers. Before you stand the two most honorable six-winged Seraphim, who with two wings cover the face, with two the feet, with two flying and crying "Holy!" With them, receive also our cry of "Holy," as we say: *Holy, holy, holy Lord Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full (πλήρης) of your glory.* Full (πλήρης) is heaven, full (πλήρης) also is earth of your magnificent glory, Lord of powers; fill (πλήρωσον) also this sacrifice with your power and with your participation.(9)

MK: *Holy... are full (πλήρης) of your glory.* Full (πλήρης) in truth are heaven and earth of your holy glory though the epiphany of our Lord and God and savior Jesus Christ; fill (πλήρωσον) also, O God, this sacrifice, with the blessing from you through the coming of your all-Holy Spirit.(10)

The tightly articulated *pleni/vere-plenum/imple* Egyptian anaphoral sequence also obviates any spillover of the thanksgiving into the postsanctus. This clean break is another characteristic of Egyptian-type anaphoras.(11) In its earliest Egyptian form, still visible in Sarapion, the Sanctus is sung to the Father by the Son and Holy Spirit, whom the two Seraphim of Is 6:2 represent according to the prevalent Origenist exegesis (to be treated in Part II of this study, section F.II). I give more of the text of Sarapion to show the flavor of this exegesis; the text of MK is substantially the same (see the Latin texts in parallel columns in section F.II of Part II).

An ancient founder inscription on a wooden relief in the Mu'allaqah Church of Qasr al-Sam' (Gam') in Old Cairo shows how imbedded in Egyptian Greek Christian culture was this *pleni/plenum* Sanctus word-play (note that the chant is addressed to Christ):

> ⟨... the an⟩gels also unceasingly honor him with thrice-holy voice singing and saying: *Holy, holy, holy are you, Lord, heaven and earth are full of ⟨your glory⟩*: for *full* they are [πεπλήρωνται] of your greatness, all-compassionate Lord, that being in the heavens invisible in

compositions, as distinct from *borrowed* Egyptian anaphoras like EgBAS (PE 348) or GREG (GERHARDS 26 = PE 360).

(9) PE 128-30.

(10) CUMING, MK 38-9 = PE 110-2.

(11) On all this see CUMING, MK xiii, 120-22.

> your multiple powers, you were pleased to be sent down to co⟨habit⟩ with mortals, made flesh from the Virgin God-Mother Mary.(12)

IV. JEWISH ANTECEDENTS

The Christian liturgical Sanctus is neither that of the LXX, nor of the synagogue *Qedušša*h, nor, indeed, is it exactly the same as the earliest Christian Sanctus redactions witnessed to by 1 Clement, *Ap-Const* VII, 35:3, VIII, 12:27, Asterios Sophistes, Cyril/John of Jerusalem, Ps.-Dionysius, etc., all of which will be examined below. But the Jewish origins and *Redaktionsgeschichte* of the text, by general agreement a biblical and Jewish liturgical piece christianized, have been treated in other studies.(13) The focus of our interest here will be the interpolation of the Sanctus into the eucharistic prayer.

B. THE STATE OF THE QUESTION

When and where, whence and why the Sanctus chant was interpolated into the anaphora has long been a matter of considerable disagreement. According to the *Liber pontificalis*, it was introduced into the eucharistic Canon by Pope St. Sixtus I (ca. 115-125),(14) a

(12) J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die christliche Denkmäler Aegyptens, Römische Quartalschrift* 12 (1898) 14-22 and Tafel II; G. LEFEBVRE, *Receuil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Cairo 1907) 16 no. 69; A. BAUMSTARK, *Zwei nicht erkannte Brüchstücke frühchristlich-griechischer Liturgie Ägyptens, Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 1 (1921) 132-4.

(13) SPINKS, *Sanctus* chap. 1-2; ID., *Sources*; WERNER, *Genesis*; M. ARRANZ, S. PARENTI, *Liturgia patristica orientale. Tracce per uno studio sistematico,* in: A. QUACQUARELLI (ed.), *Complementi interdisciplinari di patrologia* (Rome 1989) 610-11, 618; and the works they cite.

(14) L. DUCHESNE (ed.), *Le Liber pontificalis.* Texte, introduction et commentaire, 3 vols. (Paris 1886, 1892, 1957) I, 128: "Hic constituit ut intra actionem, sacerdos incipiens, populo hymnum decantare: *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabahot,* et cetera." (Punctuation modified, emphasis added).

claim we can safely relegate to the realm of fable:([15]) the *Liber* is a sixth-century compilation considered unreliable for the earlier period. More readily accepted has been the Egyptian connection: "There seems to be a generally held opinion that the introduction of the Sanctus into the anaphora first took place in Egypt. Whoever first proposed this theory, in England it certainly owes its authority to the writings of Dom Gregory Dix."([16]) At first blush, however, that too seems unlikely. Very little in liturgical usage elsewhere in the East can be traced back to Egypt, an independent sort of place which generally went its own way liturgically. When it did show commonality it was more likely to be with the West. Furthermore, the very existence of two seemingly irreducible Sanctus redactions, the Egyptian and the more common one, might seem to belie any attempt to trace the Sanctus back to a common Early Christian Urgut.

So we are left with what Paul Marshall justly calls "the perennial problem of the Sanctus."([17]) The nature of this "perennial problem," the state of the question as it emerges from a review of the sources, and indeed the reason for asking the question in the first place, is based on these incontrovertible facts:

1. Some of the earliest complete, i.e., not fragmentary, extant anaphoras have no Sanctus.
2. Proof-positive of the anaphoral Sanctus first appears in the fourth century, sometime between ca. 317 and the 380's, depending on how one reads the sources; by the last decade of the fourth century its use in the eucharist is widespread; only by the fifth century is it an integral part of the anaphora throughout the East.
3. When it does appear, it is everywhere in the same place in the anaphoral structure, apparently indicating a common origin.
4. But it is found in two irreducibly distinct redactions, which would contradict that commonality.

([15]) *Pace* Duchesne's affirmation of it: *Loc. cit.* note 5.

([16]) G. J. CUMING, *The Anaphora of St. Mark. A Study in Development*, Mu 95 (1982) 123.

([17]) In *Additional Notes*, p. 772, in the reissue (NY 1982) of G. DIX, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London 1945).

Propaedeutic to the next volume of my continuing history of the Byzantine Chrysostom Anaphora (CHR),([18]) I have reviewed the dossier on this question, with the following results.

I. The Earliest Anaphora only a "Preface"?

Already in 1938 Engberding raised the possibility that the pre-sanctus of CHR-APSyr was once a complete prayer, concluding with "Ὑπὲρ τούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ σου υἱῷ καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ – For all this do we thank you and your only-begotten Son and your Holy Spirit."([19]) Other authors resume this hypothesis and develop it in the context of other eucharistic prayers. Ligier, for instance, notes that this is a common enough Antiochene-type finale in *ApConst* VII, 38:1, 4,([20]) where a similar thanksgiving opens the Sunday blessing of God's works: Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι περὶ πάντων, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ/Περὶ πάντων σοι διὰ Χριστοῦ εὐχαριστοῦμεν. A similar summary thanksgiving, Ligier continues, also concludes the eucharistic prayer of *Didache* 10.4, before the intercessions (10.5): Πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ: σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.([21]) In his hypothesis, the institution/anamnesis block would be a later embolism framed by the above general thanksgiving and the common concluding acclamation Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν: "In all and for all we hymn you, we bless you, we thank you, and we pray to you, Our God."([22])

([18]) For the latest installments, see OCP 56 (1990) 5-41, and *The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. A History*, vol. IV: *The Diptychs* (OCA 238, Rome 1991).

([19]) H. ENGBERDING, *Die syrische Anaphora der zwölf Apostel und ihre Paralleltexte einander gegenüberstellt und mit neuen Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte der Chrysostomosliturgie begleitet*, OC 34 = ser. 3 vol. 12 (1938) 213-247, here 239, 241.

([20]) Cf. 36:6, SC 336:84-6, 88-90.

([21]) W. RORDORF (ed.), *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (SC 248, Paris 1978) 180 = PE 66.

([22]) BRIGHTMAN 88.10-16, 178.18-19, 329.9-10, 438.12-14; CUMING, MK 43.9; GERHARDS 34.193-4; PE 226, 236, 267, 271, 287, 290, 296, 305, 307, 312, 317, 322, 329, 335, 339, 352, 364, 377, 384, 393; cf. HANSSENS III, 451-2 (no. 1321).

In eastern anaphoras the Sanctus, in turn, would be a still later enrichment of this structure.(23)

Among other authors, too, there is more or less a consensus that the most primitive, original eucharistic prayers were short, self-contained benedictions without Sanctus, institution narrative, or epiclesis, comparable to the Jewish *Birkat ha-mazon*, *Didache* 10, and the papyrus *Strasbourg 254*,(24) even if Spinks, with his usual salutary caution, remains skeptical about the latter. (25) Magne considers the Sanctus an interpolation into both AM and Maronite Šarar (Peter III).(26)

(23) L. LIGIER, *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer: From the Last Supper to the Eucharist*, SL 9 (1973) 161-185, esp. 167, 171ff, 177-80, 183.

(24) Cf. *loc. cit.* and M. ARRANZ, "L'esegesi dei testi liturgici: un'apertura metodologica per orizzonti nuovi", *Rassegna di teologia* 32 (1991) 86-92, here esp. 89-90; W. H. BATES, *Thanksgiving and Intercession in the Liturgy of St. Mark*, BELS 19:112-9; CUMING, *Anaphora* (note 16 above) 122-3, 128; E. J. KILMARTIN, *Sacrificium laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers*, *Theological Studies* 35 (1974) 268-287; KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 148; RATCLIFF, *Original Form* 23-32; H. WEGMAN, *Une anaphore incomplète? Les fragments sur Papyrus Strasbourg Gr. 254*, in: R. VAN DEN BROECK & M. J. VERMASEREN (eds.), *Studies in Gnosticisim and Hellenistic Religions* (London 1982) 432-450; ID., *Généologie hypothétique de la prière eucharistique*, *Questions liturgiques* 61 (1980) 263-278. For a summary of recent research on the origins of the anaphora see T. J. TALLEY, *The Eucharistic Prayer of the Ancient Church according to Recent Research: Results and Reflections*, SL 11 (1976) 138-158; G. J. CUMING, *The Early Eucharistic Liturgies in Recent Research*, BELS 19:65-9; to which must be added the recent works of C. GIRAUDO, *Struttura*; ID., *Eucaristia per la Chiesa. Prospettive teologiche sull'eucaristia a partire dalla "lex orandi"* (Aloisiana 22, Rome/Brescia 1989); ID., *Le récit de l'institution dans la prière eucharistique a-t-il des antécédents? Quelques aperçus sur la prière liturgique et la dynamique de son embolisme*, NRT 106 (1984) 513-536; ID., *Vers un traité de l'Eucharistie à la fois ancien et nouveau. La théologie de l'Eucharistie à travers l'école de la «lex orandi»*, NRT 112 (1990) 870-887.

(25) B. SPINKS, *A Complete Anaphora? A Note on Strasbourg Gr. 254*, *The Heythrop Journal* 25 (1984) 51-59.

(26) J. MAGNE, *L'anaphore nestorienne dite d'Addée et Mari et l'anaphore maronite dite de Pierre III. Étude comparative*, OCP 53 (1987) 144-5, 156-8. AM had the Sanctus, but believes it to be an interpolation into the related Maronite Šarar (Peter III).

II. The Sanctus as Conclusion to the Primitive Anaphora?

Of special relevance for the Sanctus is the work of E.C. Ratcliff. In 1950 he turned current doctrine on its head in a tightly reasoned article whose echoes still reverberate down the halls of academe.(27) Ratcliff takes as his point of departure the anaphora of *ApTrad* 4. Here is the text in question:

> **[1]** Gratias tibi referimus deus, per dilectum puerum tuum Iesum Christum, quem in ultimis temporibus misisti nobis saluatorem et redemptorem et angelum uoluntatis tuae; qui est uerbum tuum inseparabile, per quem omnia fecisti et beneplacitum tibi fuit, misisti de caelo in matricem uirginis, quique in utero habitus incarnatus est et filius tibi ostensus est ex spiritu sancto et uirgine natus. Qui uoluntatem tuam conplens et populum sanctum tibi adquirens extendis manus cum pateretur, ut a passione liberaret eos qui in te crediderunt. Qui cumque traderetur uoluntariae passioni, ut mortem soluat et uincula diabuli dirumpat, et infernum calcet et iustos inluminet, et terminum figat et resurrectionem manifestet,
>
> **[2]** accipiens panem gratias tibi agens dixit: Accipite, manducate, hoc est corpus meum quod pro uobis confringetur. Similiter et calicem dicens: Hic est sanguis meus qui pro uobis effunditur. Quando hoc facitis, meam commemorationem facitis.
>
> **[3]** Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius, offerimus tibi panem et calicem, gratias tibi agentes quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare.
>
> **[4]** Et petimus ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae: in unum congregans des omnibus qui percipiunt sanctis in repletionem spiritus sancti ad confirmationem fidei in ueritate,
>
> **[5]** ut te laudemus et glorificemus per puerum tuum Iesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et honor patri et filio cum sancto spiritu, in sancta ecclesia tua et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.(28)

(27) E. C. RATCLIFF, *The Sanctus and the Pattern of the Early Anaphora*, I: JEH 1 (1950) 29-36; II: 125-134 = RATCLIFF, LS 18-40. R. repeats his ideas in a letter of Oct. 23, 1961, to A. Couratin, published in *The Thanksgiving: an Essay by Arthur Couratin*, ed. by D. H. TRIPP in BELS 19:23-4. On R's views, see also B. SPINKS, *The Cleansed Leper's Thankoffering before the Lord: Edward Craddock Ratcliff and the Pattern of the Early Anaphora*, BELS 19:161-178; ID., *Sanctus* 4-7.

(28) BOTTE 12-16.

Seeking to peel away the supposed later accretions in order to arrive at the original nucleus of this prayer, Ratcliff held that the Spirit epiclesis **[4]** is a later addition. Originally a precommunion prayer for the Spirit to come upon the communicants, he argued, it was transformed into a prayer for the Spirit's inmission into the oblation, and interpolated into the anaphora. Further, for Ratcliff the institution narrative was inserted into an early prayer of thanksgiving previously comprising creation themes such as still found in the parallel text of the presanctus of *ApConst* VIII, 12:8ff. The redactor would have suppressed the creation themes except for the reference to the Son-Logos, and then added to this christological remnant an institution account drawn, perhaps, from what we now call an anamnesis.(29) This gives us an *ApTrad* thanksgiving prayer in which segments **[2]** and **[4]** are eliminated

This hypothesis leaves us with an abruptly-ending paragraph **[3]**, and provides no smooth transition to paragraph **[5]**; nor, according to Ratcliff, does the thought of **[3]** appear completed with its final phrase. So he turns to Connolly's proposed retroversion of the Greek, based on *ApConst* VIII, 12:38: εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι... ἐφ'οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἑστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἱερατεύειν σοι.(30) Ratcliff proposes to substitute λειτουργεῖν for ἱερατεύειν, so that the retroversion would be παραστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ λειτουργεῖν σοι. He argues on the basis of LXX parallels in Dt 10:8, 18:5-7, and their Old Latin equivalents (adistere/adstare coram) in which "to stand before the Lord" is combined, in a liturgical context, with "to minister" (ministrare).

This, in turn, gives Ratcliff a clue to what might have followed in the Urtext. In Theodotian's Greek of Dan 7:10, the two verbs are combined in a context of the heavenly worship of the angelic powers: "χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ – thousands of thousands minister to him and myriads upon myriads stand before him."

But such a passage is a topos in Sanctus introductions, which in certain eastern liturgies like *ApConst* VIII, 12:27(31) and Sarapion are

(29) See JUSTIN, *Apol.* I, 66-67, PG 6:428-9; *ApConst* VIII, 12:38, SC 336:198; cf. RATCLIFF, *Sanctus* (note 27 above) I, 32-3; II, 125 note 1.
(30) SC 336:198.
(31) SC 336:192.

little more than a conflation of Dan 7:10 and Is 6:3.(32) This is found as early as 1 Clement 34:5-6, with the phrases of Dan 7:10 transposed into the order in which they are found in Dt 10:8 and 18:6, and in *ApTrad* 4: "gratias tibi agentes quia nos dignos habuisti *adstare coram te et tibi ministrare*" (no. **[3]** in text cited above).

Ratcliff sees in this transposition, which favors the levitical or priestly terminology of Dt, a liturgicizing of the text to express the union of men and angels, the earthly and heavenly creation, standing together before God and offering him one united sacrifice of praise. In the next step, this phrase, now a conventional formula of thanksgiving, would have attracted to it the biblical Sanctus, which at that time would have formed the conclusion to the eucharistic prayer.

Already in 1929, Ratcliff had proposed that Addai and Mari was "an interpolated, Jerusalemized-Antioch form of the old Edessene Eucharistic Prayer" in which the Sanctus with its introduction and following transition, as well as the epiclesis, are later additions.(33) And in a note on the anaphoras cited by Narsai in his *Liturgical Homilies 17, 21*, and *32*, Ratcliff identified in *Homily 32* "the most ancient type" of Nestorian anaphora,(34) a primitive prayer of thanksgiving-cum-embryonic-epiclesis ending with the Sanctus.(35) This text, along with *Homily 21*, an intermediate type or "transitional and experimental phase" with thanksgiving/Sanctus/epiclesis, as in Cyril/John of Jerusalem, *Cat. 5*, 6, Ratcliff sees as a transitional stage on the way toward "the developed Greek type" described in *Homily 17*: thanksgiving/Sanctus/narration of Jesus' economy of salvation, including the institution narrative/intercessions/consecratory epiclesis sequence.(36)

That these far-reaching changes envisaged by Ratcliff could have occurred in such rapid succession is highly unlikely, and Spinks has demolished several key buttresses to Ratcliff's reconstruction, especially regarding Narsai's *Homily 32*, where I believe Spinks is correct in seeing the passage before the fraction(37) as referring to the *Sancta*

(32) PE 88-90, 128-30.
(33) RATCLIFF, *Original Form* 32.
(34) RATCLIFF, *Note* 248.
(35) Text in CONNOLLY, *Narsai* 67.
(36) RATCLIFF, *Note* 248.
(37) CONNOLLY, *Narsai* 67.

sanctis communion call, not to the Sanctus of the anaphora.(38) For good measure, Spinks also challenges Ratcliff's view that the pristine form of AM lacked both Sanctus and epiclesis.(39)

As for Ratcliff's attempted reconstitution of the Urform of the *ApTrad* 4 anaphora, M.A. Smith has voiced the chief objection to it.(40) It is highly unlikely that any redactor would have *excised an already existing Sanctus* once the tradition of ending the anaphora with this biblical hymn was already in place. Smith adduces in support of his view recently discovered anaphoras like Epiphanius,(41) which Botte dates between 450-680,(42) and Theodore of Mopsuestia's anaphora cited by both Narsai, *Homily 17*,(43) as well as in Cyrus of Edessa's *Explanation of the Pasch*, V, 10.(44) Both these anaphoras flow smoothly from thanksgiving to institution narrative with no intervening Sanctus. Since these texts, unlike *Testamentum Domini* I, 23, are not *ApTrad* 4 derivatives, they greatly strengthen the argument for the existence of ancient, coherent anaphoral prayers comprising thanksgiving/institution/epiclesis before the appearance of the Sanctus as an integral element of the anaphoral structure. But if

(38) B. SPINKS, *A Note on the Anaphora outlined in Narsai's Homily XXXII*, JTS 31 (1980) 82-93.

(39) SPINKS, *Original Form*, against RATCLIFF, *Original Form*.

(40) SMITH, *ApTrad re-considered* 426-30.

(41) G. GARITTE, *Un opuscule grec traduit de l'arménien sur l'addition de l'eau au vin eucharistique*, Mu 73 (1960) 297-310: Greek retroversion of the anaphora *ibid.* 298-99, Latin trans. PE 262-63; B. BOTTE, *Fragments d'une anaphore inconnue attribuée à S. Épiphane*, Mu 73 (1960) 311-15: French version of the anaphora, p. 311; English trans. in SMITH, *ApTrad re-considered* 427-28; cf. H. ENGBERDING, *Zur griechischen Epiphaniusliturgie*, Mu 74 (1961) 135-42.

(42) *Fragments* (see previous note) 315.

(43) Syriac text in A. MINGANA, *Narsai doctoris syri homiliae et carmina* I (Mosul 1905) 284ff; trans. CONNOLLY, *Narsai* 16-17.

(44) W. F. MACOMBER, *Six Explanations of the Liturgical Feasts by Cyrus of Edessa* (CSCO 355-356 = scr. syri 155-156, Louvain 1974) text 57-8; trans. 49-50. On this anaphora see W. F. MACOMBER, *An Anaphora Prayer composed by Theodore of Mopsuestia*, *Parole de l'Orient* 6-7 (1975-1976) 341-347, which gives in parallel columns both Syriac texts (Narsai and Cyrus) with English trans. (344-5), and comments on the absence of the Sanctus (346). As Macomber notes (340 note 1), this anaphora is *not* the same as the East-Syrian Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia (PE 381-6). See also SMITH, *ApTrad re-considered* 429.

that is so, then Ratcliff's hypothesis that the Sanctus was originally the conclusion of a primitive eucharistic prayer comprising only the thanksgiving, falls.

Following Ratcliff, G.A. Michell has argued that the anaphora in use in Cappadocia under bishop Firmilian, which Firmilian refers to in a letter to Cyprian, written ca. 256 and extant in Cyprian, *Ep. 75*, 10,(45) was an invocation of the Trinity that concluded with the Sanctus.(46) Furthermore, continues Michell, this text is probably the trinitarian praise now imbedded in the presanctus of BAS. Michell's thesis was accepted by W. E. Pitt, who tried to show the dependence of BAS on JAS and Antiochene sources common also to AM for portions of BAS (institution/epiclesis) judged to be later additions.(47)

* * *

III. The Problem of Method

What is one to make of all this? What indeed. That right into the fourth century some eucharistic prayers had no Sanctus is a proven fact. But that does not necessarily mean that the Sanctus was always interpolated as a foreign body into single, homogeneous anaphoral prayers of the *ApTrad* 4 variety. Nor, on the other hand, does the existence of such brief, coherent prayers of praise and thanks like *Didache* 10, *Strasbourg 254*, the presanctus of CHR-APSyr, etc., mean that is all there was to the early eucharistic anaphora. Who is to say that such prayers could not have been followed by an institution/anamnesis embolism so stereotyped almost from the start that it could be left to spontaneous improvisation

(45) CSEL 3.2:818. On this text see A. BOULEY, *From Freedom to Formula. The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts* (Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity 21, Washington D.C. 1981) 143-5.

(46) G. A. MICHELL, *Firmilian and Eucharistic Consecration*, JTS 5 (1954) 215-220.

(47) *The Origin of the Anaphora of the Liturgy of St. Basil*, JEH 12 (1961) 1-13.

without fear of aberrations? Did not Joachim Jeremias propose that the New Testament institution accounts already betray signs of liturgical standardization?([48]) It is simply not legitimate, therefore, to consider *ApTrad* 4 as a "model" early, coherent anaphora, a type of prayer whose integrity would later be violated by the more or less clumsy intrusion of the Sanctus. Probably a more realistic paradigm, closer to what the early developments were actually like, is the patchwork quilt of Addai and Mari or the Egyptian prayers, which seem to have developed bit by bit, in a process of gradual evolution as described by Ligier, Kilmartin, Wegman, and others.([49])

At any rate, I believe that as far as possible one must stay with the texts as they are, because it is impossible to avoid a large degree of subjectivity in judging whether or not a transition to the Sanctus is smooth or rough, whether one text follows logically upon another or does not, whether the patch-seams of a later interpolation are visible or not, etc. Cuming says of Addai and Mari, "E. C. Ratcliff, in his famous article of 1929,([50]) showed to everyone's satisfaction that the Sanctus was a later interpolation."([51]) I beg to differ, as does Spinks, who says of Ratcliff's theory that "it is not necessary to arrive at such a conclusion,"([52]) despite the general agreement that opinion has received.([53]) Earlier in the same article, Spinks enunciates apropos of AM some principles I believe are applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, across the board:

([48]) *The 'Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London 1966) ch. 3 passim, esp. 108-25.

([49]) See the works of LIGIER, KILMARTIN, WEGMAN cited in note 24 above.

([50]) RATCLIFF, *Original Form.*

([51]) G. J. CUMING, *The Early Eucharistic Liturgies in Recent Research*, BELS 19:66.

([52]) SPINKS, *Original Form* 147. Most recently, Spinks again expresses his views on this issue in *Sanctus* 57-61.

([53]) SPINKS, *Sources* 168 note 4, and *Sanctus* 57, lists several authors who hold this view: BOTTE, *L'Anaphore chaldéenne des Apôtres*, OCP 15 (1949) 259-276, esp. 260-1, 264-5, 269, 276; ID., *Problèmes de l'Anaphore syrienne des Apôtres Addai et Mari*, OS 10 (1965) 89-106, esp. 93-4, 99, 104-6; BOUYER, *Eucharist* 150, 154; DIX, *Consecration Prayers* 271; ID., *Shape* (note 17 above) 180-1; L. LIGIER, *From the Last Supper to the Eucharist*, in: L. SHEPPARD (ed.), *The New Liturgy* (London 1970) 132; RATCLIFF, *Original Form*, esp. 29.

We should be warned against the arbitrary reasons which scholars sometimes give for unnecessary and ruthless emendations. If similar themes are present in prechristian or contemporaneous Jewish Liturgy, there is no valid reason for excising them from Christian Liturgy. This also applies to the lack of logical sequence which again the Jewish *Berakoth* display in some places; the fact that in an anaphora paragraphs do not always connect cannot be an *a priori* reason for jettisoning certain parts of them. But above all there is certainly no need to weld *Addai and Mari* into one short prayer with one Doxology. In his assessment, Ratcliff assumed that the early Eucharistic Prayer was always of this nature. Such an assumption is not entirely justified. The *Birkat ha-mazon* which many regard as the type of prayer used by Jesus at the Last Supper in association with the cup, consisted not of one prayer with a single Doxology, but of three *Berakoth*, each with a Doxology. A strong case has been made for the prayer in *Didache* 10 being merely a Christianised version of the *Birkat ha-mazon*, and this prayer also consists of three blessings each with a Doxology.([54]) Justin Martyr [*Apol.* I, 67], remarking that the President gives thanks "at considerable length", states that "Amen" was said by the people when he had concluded "the prayers and thanksgivings" [Apol. I, 67]. The plural may not be without significance. There is no *a priori* reason why the first Doxology in *Addai and Mari* should be regarded as an interpolation simply because it divides the Anaphora into two parts. The Eucharistic Prayer which is one complete prayer with a careful sequence of thought and which contains clear link words between the various sections, may well be the prayer upon which the redactor, or the Hellenizer, has been at work. Perhaps the single Anaphora of *Apostolic Tradition*, which has dominated twentieth century liturgical revision, belongs in this latter category; certainly there is no reason to regard this latter as the only authentic pattern for the early Eucharistic Prayer.([55])

([54]) Spinks refers here to L. FINKELSTEIN, *The Birkat Ha-mazon, Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series 19 (1928) 211ff, concerning whose views, however, see J. HEINEMANN, *Prayer in the Talmud. Forms and Patterns* (Berlin-New York 1977) 44-5.

([55]) SPINKS, *Original Form* 150-51. Spinks cites in this context J. P. AUDET, *Literary form and Contents of a Normal Eucharistia in the First Century, Studia evangelica* (TU 73, Berlin 1959) 661: "the consequences due to the psychological implantation of the old εὐχαριστία in a community henceforth almost exclusively made up of human elements drawn from the Gentile world, become perceptible as early as the end of the second century. At the beginning of the third, where the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus can be dated, we get a strong impression that things have changed rapidly. What was henceforth beginning to take place, was roughly some kind of an inner breaking and dissociation of the literary forms of the ancient εὐχαριστία,

Similar strictures from scholars such as Heinemann(56) and Hoffman,(57) and seconded by Giraudo for the anaphora,(58) urge the same caveat here: it is extremely difficult to reconstruct convincingly the supposedly "original form" of a text from internal evidence alone, with arguments from language, flow, style, or from the smoothness or not of transitions between passages. This is especially true of a text so subject to reworking as one of the most common and fundamental prayer-forms of Christendom, the eucharistic anaphora.

In order to answer, then, the questions posed by the existence of the Sanctus and the theories surrounding their resolution, or at least to ascertain what can or cannot safely be resolved without overflowing the bounds of legitimate, data-based speculation, we must look to the historical evidence.

C. THE SANCTUS/BENEDICTUS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN USAGE

I. The Sanctus

Christians were, of course, familiar with the biblical Trisagion of Is 6:3 or its derivatives long before we can prove they used it in the service of the Lord's Supper. We find it in Rev 4:8, 1 Clement 34:6, Tertullian, *De oratione* 3.3, and the *Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas* 12.2, before it emerges in the anaphora. Christians, doubtless, also knew of its liturgical use in synagogue worship at morning prayer, where it is still found in the *Birkat yotser* or opening benediction of the *Šema' Israel.*(59) Was it also used in Christian liturgy

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together with corresponding modifications in the balance of the significations and values which the εὐχαριστία had originally been intended to serve."

(56) *Op. cit.* in note 54 above, 6ff, 43ff.

(57) L. A. Hoffman, *Beyond the Text. A Holistic Approach to Liturgy* (Jewish Literature and Culture Series, Bloomington-Indianapolis 1987) 3ff.

(58) Giraudo, *Struttura* 205-9; and for the Sanctus, 312.

(59) The Jewish evidence is reviewed best by Werner, *Genesis,* and Spinks, *Sources.* See also the literature they cite. The *Qeduššah* is found in the synagogue liturgy in three places: 1) in the *Yotser* or first prayer of the benedictions of morning prayer, before the biblical part of the *Šema'* (PE 37); 2) in the third petition of the *Šemoneh-'essreh* (PE 45-46); 3) in the *Qeduššah desidra'* at the end of morning prayer. But only the first of these is believed to be ancient, going back to the middle of the second century AD at least, when 1 Clement 34:6 cites it.

(60) On the Sanctus in this source, see Kähler, *Te deum* 18, 149-50, who believes the Sanctus in 1 Clement derives from liturgical use, against W. C. van Unnik, *1 Clement and the 'Sanctus'*, VC 5 (1951) 204-48. Van Unnik reviews the whole dossier and attempts to smother the liturgical interpretation under a mountain of erudition, much of it irrelevant to this issue, though he is surely right in seeing the eschatological sense as primary, and in excluding any direct evidence here of the eucharist, though not for that reason: as Kähler, *Te deum* 150, notes, an eschatological orientation by no means excludes eucharist!

before its fourth-century appearance in the anaphora? If so, how early? And where?

1. *The New Testament*

In Rev 4:6-11 it is the "four living creatures," later to become symbols of the four evangelists, who chant the angelic hymn of the heavenly liturgy celebrated ceaselessly before the throne of God:

> **6.** Around the throne, on each side of the throne, are four living creatures... **8.** And the four living creatures, each of them with six wings, are full of eyes all round and within, and day and night they never cease to sing, "*Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty, who was and is and is to come!*" **9.** And whenever the living creatures give glory and honor and thanks to him who is seated on the throne, who lives for ever and ever, **10.** the twenty-four elders fall down before him who is seated on the throne and worship him who lives for ever and ever; they cast their crown before the throne, singing, **11.** "*Worthy art thou, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honor and power, for thou didst create all things, and by thy will they existed and were created.*"

2. *1 Clement (ca. 95-96 AD)*

Not much later, ca. 95-96 AD, 1 Clement 34:5-8 could also be understood as referring to a liturgical context, though this is disputed:(60)

> **34:5.** Let our glorying and our confidence [παρρησία] be in him [the Lord]; let us subject ourselves to his will. Let us consider the whole multitude of his angels, how they minister to his will, standing before him (λειτουργοῦσιν παρεστῶτες). **6.** For the Scripture says: "myriads of myriads stood by (παρειστήκεισαν) him, and thousands of thousands ministered (ἐλειτούργουν) to him, and cried, '*Holy, holy, holy, Lord sabaoth, the whole creation is full of his glory*'." **7.** And so let us too, gathering together in one place, in inner concord, as with one voice, cry out to him insistently, that we may become sharers in his great and glorious promises. **8.** For he says: "Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man, what he has prepared for those who await him" (1 Cor 2:9).

Here the eschatological context, also seen above in Rev 4:8 ("who was and is to come"), is revealed not only in 34:7, but especially by the variant "who await him" in 34:8, over against the textus receptus of 1 Cor 2:9, "who love him." From 34:7 one could plausibly argue a liturgical context, too.

3. *The Passio of Sts. Perpetua and Felicitas (late 2nd c.)*

Christine Mohrmann does see a definite liturgical echo in *The Martyrdom of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* 12.2, where the martyrs, executed probably in 203, are depicted as describing their reception in heaven: "Et introivimus et audivimus vocem unitam dicentem: '*Agios, agios, agios,*' sine cessatione."(61) In this Latin text the use of Greek instead of Latin for the Sanctus reflects, for Mohrmann, its liturgical use in Greek – otherwise, why isn't it cited in Latin?(62) Against a liturgical interpretation, however, is the fact that here, and indeed in all these texts, it is the heavenly choir, not the Church, which chants the celestial hymn.(63)

(61) C. VAN BEEK (ed.), *Passio ss. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* I (Nijmegen 1936) 32 (emphasis added); English in H. MUSURILLO, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford 1972) 121. Though the question is disputed, many hold the Latin text to be earlier than and/or independent of the Greek, and not a translation of the latter (cf. VAN BEEK 84*-91*).

(62) C. MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin. Its Origins and Character* (Washington DC 1957) 16.

(63) G. KRETSCHMAR, *Neue Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Ostergottesdienstes* II, *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 7 (1962) 84.

4. *Tertullian († post 220)*

Tertullian, *De oratione* 3.3, has a similar eschatological sense, but no liturgical context is clearly indicated:

> Cui [Deo] illa angelorum circumstantia non cessant dicere: *sanctus, sanctus, sanctus!* Proinde igitur et nos, angelorum, si meruerimus, candidati, iam hinc caelestem illam in Deum uocem et officium futurae claritatis ediscimus.(64)

5. *The Te deum (4th c.)*

The Sanctus is also part of the ancient Latin *Te deum* hymn, which dates to the first half of the fourth century if not earlier:

> Te deum laudamus – te dominum confitemur
> te aeternum patrem omnis terra veneratur
> tibi omnes angeli tibi caeli et universae potestates
> tibi cherubim et seraphim incessabili voce proclamant
> *Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth*
> *pleni sunt caeli et terra maiestatis gloriae tuae.*(65)

Kähler sees behind this *Te deum* redaction of the Sanctus a second-century Latin liturgical Sanctus first reflected in the old Latin version of 1 Clement.(66)

Note that in all these texts (1-5), the triple Sanctus is addressed to God without further specification of persons, except for the *Te deum* where he is called Father. The next text (6), however, explicitates the trinitarian nature of the Godhead as the basis of the thrice-holy hymn.

6. *The Syriac Acts of John (4th c.)*

Ratcliff has drawn attention to the epicletic use of the Sanctus in the apocryphal Syriac *History of John the Son of Zebedee,*(67) which in its present form dates from the middle of the fourth century or shortly thereafter.(68) The Sanctus, with the Christian litur-

(64) CCL 1:259.

(65) KÄHLER, *Te deum* 15-26.

(66) *Ibid.* 17-19.

(67) RATCLIFF, *Note* 245-6.

(68) *Loc. cit.* citing R. H. CONNOLLY, *The Original Language of the Syriac Acts of John,* JTS 8 (1907) 249-261.

gical gloss "of whose praises *heaven and* earth are full," but without Benedictus, is found in conjunction with the coming of the Spirit in the consecration of the oil and water of baptism. John blesses the oil with the sign of the cross, saying thrice:

> "Holy is the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, Amen." And straightway fire blazed forth over the oil, and the oil did not take fire, for two angels had their wings spread over the oil and were crying, "*Holy, holy, holy, Lord Almighty.*"... And when the oil was consecrated, then the holy (man) drew near to the water, and signed it, and said: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the spirit of holiness, for ever, Amen." And the whole people cried, "Amen." And straightway the two angels came and hovered over the water, and were crying, "*Holy, holy, holy, Father and Son and Spirit of holiness*" after him. And John cried after them, "Amen."

In the second narrative, when the oil and water are consecrated together, the Sanctus is attributed to the assembly:

> "Lord God Almighty, let thy Spirit of holiness come and rest upon the oil and upon the water... Yea, Lord, sanctify this water with thy voice which resounded over Jordan... And in that hour fire blazed forth over the oil, and the wings of the angels were spread over the oil: and the whole assemblage was crying out, men and women and children, "*Holy, holy, holy, Lord Almighty, of whose praises heaven and earth are full.*" And straightway the vision was taken away.([69])

Note these four points:

1. the trinitarian sense of the Sanctus
2. its use in a liturgical prayer of consecration
3. and in an explicitly trinitarian epicletic context
4. as the heavenly angelic chant sung also by the people.

II. The Sanctus with Benedictus

7. *The Apostolic Constitutions VII (ca. 380)*

But even if some of these references could be taken as liturgical, that would not warrant assigning them to the eucharist, as *ApConst*

([69]) W. Wright (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I: *The Syriac Texts*, II: *The English Translation* (London/Edinburgh 1871) I, 42-3, 58-9; II, 38-9, 53-4 (punctuation modified, emphasis added).

shows. This anthology of Greek texts from Antiochia – i.e., the region around Antioch though not the metropolis itself, apparently([70]) – dates from around the year 380. In one of the benedictions of Jewish origin in the Judeo-Christian anthology of prayers in *ApConst* VII, 35:3, we find the hymn addressed to God, "creator and Lord..." (VII, 35:1), through Christ (VII, 35:6):

> And the holy Seraphim together with the six-winged Cherubim, singing to you the victorious ode (τὴν ἐπινίκιον ᾠδήν), with never-silent (ἀσίγητος) voices cry out: "*Holy, holy, holy Lord Sabaoth, heaven and earth [are] full of your glory.*" And the multitude of other orders, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, powers, crying out loudly, say: "*Blessed [be] the glory of the Lord from his abode*" (Ezk 3:12).([71])

Here the Sanctus is given as in the synagogue *Yotser*,([72]) in conjunction with LXX Ezk 3:12, "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his abode." As Werner notes,([73]) this *Yotser* form of the Sanctus with Ezk 3:12 is found in Asterios Sophistes as well as in Ps.-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy* VII, 4.([74]) This makes a strong case for seeking in the synagogue liturgy, and not just in the Bible, the origins of the Christian Sanctus/Benedictus. Furthermore, J. Magne has pointed out([75]) that as early as the Book of Enoch 39:9-14, an apocryphal apocalypse from the second century BC very popular among Christians in the first three Christian centuries, we find a form of Sanctus cum Benedictus that would have been familiar to Christians:

> In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of spirits with blessings and praises... saying: '*Blessed is He, and may He be*

([70]) F. van de Paverd, *Zur Geschichte der Meßliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts. Analyse der Quellen bei Johannes Chrysostomos* (OCA 187, Rome 1970) 106, 155-6, 164, 185-6, 527.

([71]) SC 336:76-8.

([72]) PE 37, 45. Though the date of this synagogue *Qedušša*h is not certain (cf. I. Elbogen, *Der judische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* [3rd ed. Frankfurt 1931] 61ff, 586), it goes back to the first century: Kretschmar, *Studien* 142 note 1.

([73]) Werner, *Genesis* 27.

([74]) Denys L'Aréopagite, *La Hiérarchie céleste*, introd. R. Roques, étude et texte critiques G. Heil, trad. et notes M. de Gandillac (2nd ed. SC 58bis, Paris 1970) 118.

([75]) Magne, *Anaphore* (note 26 above) 146.

> *blessed from the beginning and for evermore...* Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless, praise, and extol, saying: "*Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits*".' And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say: '*Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.*' And my face was changed; for I could no longer behold.(76)

"Those who sleep not" are the angels. As I have shown elsewhere, in Syriac Christianity those who sleep not, the "watchers" or "vigilers," is a term used both of the angels, as here, and, by extension, of the monastics who live the "angelic life," which life, contrary to popular opinion, is called "angelic" not just because monks imitate angelic continence, but also because they imitate the angels' uninterrupted prayer.(77) So the Sanctus with some form of Benedictus, both in a liturgical context, and generally addressed to God without distinction of persons, or to the Father through Christ, was certainly familiar to Early Christians in the pre-Nicene period.

At any rate, we find the eucharistic Sanctus/Benedictus together for the first time in the famous "Clementine Anaphora" of *ApConst* VIII, 12:27, but in slightly different form from what we saw in *ApConst* VII, 35:3, cited above in no. 7 of this section. This, however, is not the earliest anaphoral appearance of the Sanctus itself, a question to which we must now turn.

D. EARLY ANAPHORAS WITH NO SANCTUS

There is as yet no consensus as to when the Sanctus first appears in a eucharistic anaphora. The problem arises in the first place from its absence in several witnesses. Obviously, one must exclude from consideration possibly incomplete witnesses like *Strasbourg Gr. 254*, which have no Sanctus.(78) Furthermore, the *argumentum ex silentio* is not probative in descriptions of the liturgy, which may or may not be commenting on all its aspects. So I shall prescind also from commentaries like Ps.-Dionysius, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* III, 3.11-12,(79) or *The Epistle of James of Edessa to Thomas the Presbyter*,(80) neither of which mentions the Sanctus when discussing the anaphora. But the absence of the Sanctus in several anaphoras complete enough to have shown the Sanctus if there were one, is probative. The texts I have been able to turn up – others may emerge as research in the field progresses – I list in their probable chronological order:

1. *ApTrad* 4 from ca. 215.(81)
2. A Preface in the Gallican *Missale Gothicum* (ca. 690-710)(82) which, in its Urform, K. Gamber would trace back to a fourth-century Milanese *Canon Missae* without Sanctus.(83) Though Gamber's dating and hypotheses are not always lacking in fantasy, this view does not seem extravagant.
3. The fifth-century *Testamentum Domini* I, 23.(84) The Sanctus is also missing in the corresponding Ethiopian text, confirming its absence in the original redaction of this anaphora.(85)
4. The late fourth or early fifth century anaphora attributed to Theodore of Mopsuestia († 428).(86)
5. *Mai Fragment VII* edited by A. Mai from a Milanese ms. This Arian polemical tract, roughly datable ca. 380-450 or even later, cites a North Italian Latin eucharistic prayer related to the Roman *Canon Missae*, a specimen, doubtless, of local Italian usage before

(76) R. H. CHARLES, (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudoepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. II: *Pseudoepigrapha* (Oxford 1913) 211 (punctuation modified, emphasis added).

(77) R. TAFT, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville Minn. 1986) 15-16, 35, 82, 171, 357, 370-1.

(78) PE 116.

(79) PE 210-3 = PG 3:439-43.

(80) BRIGHTMAN 490-4.

(81) BOTTE 12-16 = PE 81.

(82) L. C. MOHLBERG (ed.), *Missale Gothicum (Vat. Reg. lat. 317)* (Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes V, Rome 1961) 72 no. 280; on date and provenance see xxii-vi.

(83) K. GAMBER, *Älteste Eucharistiegebete der lateinischen Osterliturgie*, in: B. FISCHER, J. WAGNER (eds.), *Paschatis sollemnia. Studien zu Osterfeier und Osterfrömmigkeit* (Basel-Freiburg-Vienna 1959) 166-8, esp. 167 apparatus g. 168.

(84) *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, ed. I. E. RAHMANI, (Mainz 1899) 38-42 = PE 219.

(85) R. BEYLOT, *Testamentum Domini éthiopien. Édition et traduction* (Louvain 1984) 167-71.

(86) See notes 43-4 above.

the unification of the liturgy in Northern Italy. The canon contains no Sanctus.(87)

6. The Anaphora of Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 450-680).(88)
7. The Ethiopian Anaphora of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which has no Sanctus in the mss even though the chant has been interpolated into the edition of the text in the Ethiopian Catholic Missal.(89)

E. EARLY WESTERN WITNESSES TO THE SANCTUS IN THE CANON

Though only the eastern evidence, generally accepted as anterior to the western, will concern us directly here, it may be useful to first list the earliest western witnesses.(90) I have already discounted the attempt of the *Liber pontificalis* to date the Sanctus in the Roman *Canon Missae* back to the early second century.(91) This moves the earliest unmistakable western evidence to the fifth century, though there is little reason to doubt that the Sanctus had entered the Latin eucharist as early as the fourth century even if the evidence must remain somewhat hypothetical. I list the witnesses in their (presumed) chronological order:

1. E. Kähler believes the ancient Latin hymn *Te deum*, which includes the Sanctus, had its *Sitz im Leben* in early Iberian Easter illations or prefaces. If so, that would date the Sanctus in Spain back to at least the first half of the fourth century.(92)
2. Klaus Gamber, in turn, has uncovered further Gallican and Mozarabic Easter prefaces with the Sanctus as an integral part of the original text. He would date them to the third-fourth century.(93)

(87) A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* III.2 (Rome 1828) 222-3; cited, translated, and discussed in Dix, *Shape* 540; cf. Bouyer, *Eucharist* 185.

(88) See note 41 above.

(89) *Mashafa qedase* (Vatican 1945) 65; cf. PE 150-1. There is no Sanctus in Ludolf (cf. PE 150).

(90) Some of this material is reviewed in Kretschmar, *Studien* 134-48, 181-82; Id., *Neue Arbeiten* II (note 63 above) 79-86.

(91) Above at note 14.

(92) Kähler, *Te deum* 37-39, 88-91, 111-14. Illatio = praefatio in Mozarabic nomenclature.

(93) K. Gamber, *Älteste Eucharistiegebete* (note 83 above) 159-78.

3. In May 484, Victor of Vita, the North-African church historian,(94) wrote a history of the persecution of the Vandals under their kings Genseric and Huneric, who invaded North Africa in 429 and were at the gates of Hippo when Augustine was on his deathbed the following year. Completed most probably in 484,(95) this *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae* II, 100 (III, 23) testifies to the anaphoral ("in mysteriis") Sanctus, considered a profession of faith in the Trinity: "Sed nec Iudaeorum scandolo moueamur qui filium dei negant, qui spiritum non adorant, sed potius perfectam trinitatem adorantes et magnificantes, sicut in mysteriis ore nostro dicimus, ita conscientia teneamus: *sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth.*" This is the earliest clear and precisely datable evidence for the anaphoral Sanctus in the West.(96)
4. Wherever the western Sanctus made its debut, however, the North Africans probably got it from Rome. Klaus Gamber has identified a Roman eucharistic canon with Sanctus as early as the fourth-fifth century according to his reckoning.(97)
5. In Gaul, Caesarius, metropolitan of Arles from 503-542, cites the Sanctus/Benedictus incipits in *Sermo 73*, 2, in a context that can only refer to the anaphora: *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus; Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.*(98)
6. Even more interesting is canon 3 of the Council of Vaison II (Vico Vaseni, Vasio), in Burgundy but part of the ecclesiastical province of Arles. This local synod, held on November 5, 529, was presided over by the same Caesarius. Canon 3 decrees, *inter alia* that the Sanctus, obviously already in use at public masses, be chanted at all eucharists: "Et in omnibus missis, seu in matutinis seu in quadragesimalibus, seu in illis quae pro defunctorum commemoratione fiunt, semper *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*, eo ordine, quo modo ad missas publicas dicitur, dici debeat: quia tam sancta & tam dulcis & desiderabilis vox, etiamsi die noctuque possit dici, fastidium non

(94) Victor is presumed to have been the bishop of Vita, a diocesan see in the northernmost corner of the Province of Byzacena in the Diocese of Africa (present-day Tunisia: see F. van de Meer, C. Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World* [London 1966] map 22). But he was actually a priest of Carthage when he wrote his history, and though later a bishop, it is not certain where: he is called "Virtensis" because he was born in Vita. See S. Costanza, *Vittorio di Vita, Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane* (Rome 1983) II, 3609-12.

(95) Costanza (see previous note) 3610.

(96) CSEL 7:70.

(97) *Ein römisches Eucharistiegebet aus dem 4.-5. Jahrhundert*, EL 74 (1960) 103-114, esp. 104.

(98) CCL 103:307.

poterit generare."([99]) In spite of the ambiguity of the term "missa" in western sources especially in Gaul and the Iberian peninsula,([100]) it is obviously the eucharist that is meant here. And I agree with Kretschmar that the text probably refers to the anaphoral Sanctus, and not the *Aius* or Trisagion, which was also sung in the Iberian and Gallican eucharist, at the beginning of the preanaphoral diptychs, after the oration also called "missa."([101])

(*to be continued*)

([99]) G. MORIN, *S. Caesarii episcopi Arelatensi opera omnia* (Maredsous 1942) II, 87 = MANSI 8:727.

([100]) Where, in addition to the Mass, it can mean any liturgical office, the dismissal, or a liturgical unit of the Divine Office: numerous examples in TAFT, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (note 77 above) 95, 103, 108-9, 116, 118, 120, 147, 149, 152, 159, 188. Cf. P. BORELLA, *La 'missa' o 'dimissio catechumenorum' nelle liturgie occidentali,* EL 53 (1939) 60-110; F. J. DÖLGER, *"Missa" als militärischer Fachausdruck bei dem christlichen Dichter Commodianus,* AC 4 (1934) 271-275; ID., *Zu den Zeremonien der Meßliturgie. III. "Ite, missa est" in kultur- und sprachgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung,* AC 6 (1940) 81-132; F. X. FUNK, *Die Anfänge von Missa = Messe,* TQ 86 (1904) 50-59; K. GAMBER, *Missa,* EL 74 (1960) 48-52; ID., *Missa romensis* (Studia patristica et liturgica 3, Regensburg 1970) 170-86; J. A. JUNGMANN, *Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes 'missa'*, ZKT 64 (1940) 26-37; ID., MS I, 173-5; II, 432-7, 446; H. KELLNER, *Wo und seit Wann wurde Missa stehende Bezeichnung für das Meßopfer?* TQ 83 (1901) 427-443; A. PAGLIARO, *La formula «ite, missa est»,* in: ID., *Altri saggi di critica semantica* (Biblioteca di cultura contemporanea 72, Messina-Firenze 1971) 128-182; C. MOHRMANN, *Missa,* VC 12 (1958) 67-92; O. ROTTMANNER, *Über neuere und ältere Deutungen des Wortes 'Missa'*, TQ 71 (1889) 531-557; etc.

([101]) *Missale mixtum,* PL 85:539-40; KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 142.

The Interpolation of the Sanctus into the Anaphora: When and Where? A Review of the Dossier

Part II(*)

In memory of Jan Řezáč, S.J. (Vitcice, Czechoslovakia, 8.V.1914-Rome, 25.IV.1990) and Anton Markočič, S.J. (Slapnik, Slovenia, 20.V.1904-Rome, 19.VII.1991).

In Part I of this study I discussed the prehistory of the anaphoral Sanctus/Benedictus, some of the more important theories in vogue concerning its pristine place and purpose in the eucharist, and

(*) For Part I, see OCP 57 (1991) 281-308.

Abbreviations

AM = The East Syrian Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari (see MACOMBER, *Addai and Marî*).

ApConst = *Les Constitutions apostoliques,* ed. M. METZGER, Tome 1: Livres I-II (SC 320, Paris 1985); Tome 2: Livres III-VI (SC 329, Paris 1986); Tome 3: Livres V-VIII (SC 336, Paris 1987).

APSyr = The Syriac Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles (I).

AUF DER MAUR = H. AUF DER MAUR, *Die Osterhomilien des Asterios Sophistes als Quelle für die Geschichte der Osterfeier* (Trierer theologische Studien 19, Trier 1967).

BAS = The Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil (specified as ByzBAS when discussed in conjunction with Coptic BAS or EgBAS,= Egyptian Greek BAS).

CHR = The Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

JAS = The Liturgy of St. James, in the Greek redaction unless otherwise specified (see PO 26.2).

KINZIG, *Search* = W. KINZIG, *In Search of Asterius. Studies on the Authorship*

the earliest witnesses to its emergence in the West, all of them, apparently, later than the earliest eastern witnesses.

F. EARLY EASTERN WITNESSES TO THE SANCTUS

If the eastern witnesses are anterior to the western, it is by no means clear which among them is the earliest. Indeed, there is more than one contender for the privilege of having introduced the Sanctus into the anaphora. Within each tradition discussed – Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Cappadocia, Mesopotamia – I shall consider the evidence for the anaphoral Sanctus in more or less the chronological order of the witnesses, though of course the date of a witness to the anaphoral Sanctus is not necessarily the date of its interpolation into the eucharist, but only the first time we see it there.

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of the Homilies on the Psalms (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Bd. 47. Göttingen 1990).

KRETSCHMAR, *Neue Arbeiten* II = G. KRETSCHMAR, *Neue Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Ostergottesdienstes*, II: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 7 (1962) 79-86.

KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* = ID., *Studien zum frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 21, Tübingen 1956).

MACOMBER, *Addai and Mari* = W. F. MACOMBER, *The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari*, OCP 32 (1966) 335-371.

PE = A. HÄNGGI, I. PAHL, *Prex eucharistica* (Spicilegium Friburgense 12, Fribourg 1968).

PO 26.2 = B.-Ch. MERCIER, *La Liturgie de S. Jacques*. Edition critique, avec traduction latine (PO 26.2, Paris 1946), 115-256.

RICHARD = M. RICHARD (ed.), *Asterii Sophistae Commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt accedunt aliquot homiliae anonymae* (Symbolae Osloenses, Fasc. supplet. 16, Oslo 1956).

SC 126bis = CYRILLE DE JÉRUSALEM, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, ed. A. PIÉDAGNEL (2nd. ed., SC 126bis, Paris 1988).

SC 320, 329, 336, see *ApConst*.

SP = *Studia Patristica*.

ST 145 = R. TONNEAU, R. DEVREESSE, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* (ST 145, Vatican 1949).

TAFT, *Great Entrance* = R. TAFT, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (OCA 200, 2nd ed. Rome 1978).

I. PALESTINE

1. *Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine (ca. 317-325)*

In a little-known article Massey H. Shepherd pointed to a possible early witness to the anaphoral Sanctus in Palestine.(1) Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine (ca. 263-339), in his *Church History* X, 4, gives the entire text of his *Panegyric on the Erection of the Churches, to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre*.(2) Eusebius delivered this famous sermon ca. 317 at the inauguration of the new cathedral at Tyre, not far up the coast from Caesarea, in present-day Lebanon. In the passage to which Shepherd draws our attention, HE X, 4.69-70, Eusebius speaks in terms (italicized) remarkably resonant of the presanctus of JAS:

> Such is the great cathedral which throughout the whole world under the sun *the great Creator of the universe*, the Word, has built, Himself again fashioning this spiritual image on earth of the vaults beyond the skies, so that *by the whole creation* and by rational beings on earth His Father might be honoured and worshipped. As for the realm above the skies and the patterns there of things here on earth, *The Jerusalem above, as it is called, the heavenly Mount Zion* and the celestial city of the Living God, *in which the countless hosts of assembled angels and the church of the first-born enrolled in heaven give glory with praises beyond our utterance or understanding* to their Maker, the supreme Ruler of the universe – these things no mortal can worthily *hymn* . . . Of these things we have now been found worthy; so let us all – men, women, and children, small and great together, with one spirit and one soul – everlastingly give thanks and praise to the Author of all the blessings we enjoy.(3)

The verbal parallels (italicized) between this peroration and the presanctus of JAS are striking. In both, the chant is addressed to God:

(1) M. H. SHEPHERD, *Eusebius and the Liturgy of St. James*, *Yearbook of Liturgical Studies* 4 (1963) 109-123.

(2) GCS 9.2 (EUSEBIUS 2.2) 863-883; EUSÈBE DE CÉSARÉE, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, ed. G. BARDY, Tome 1: Livres I-IV (SC 31, Paris 1962); Tome 2: Livres V-VII (SC 41, Paris 1955); Tome 4: G. BARDY, *Introduction*, P. PÉRICHON, *Index* (3rd ed. SC 73c, Paris 1987); here, SC 55:81-104.

(3) GCS 9.2 (EUSEBIUS 2.2) 882; SC 55:103; trans. from EUSEBIUS, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, trans. with an introduction by G. A. WILLIAMSON (Baltimore MD 1965) 400.

the postsanctus trinitarian gloss in JAS(4) is a later interpolation, as is obvious from the fact that following it, the address reverts immediately to God the Father.(5)

A comparison of the respective Greek texts will make the parallels clearer:

EUSEBIUS	JAS
ὁ μέγας τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς...διὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως...	τῷ πάσης κτίσεως . . . δημιουργῷ . . .
τήν τε ἄνω λεγομένην Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὸ Σιὼν ὄρος τὸ ἐπουράνιον . . .	Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἡ ἐπουράνιος,
ἐν ᾗ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων πανηγύρεις καὶ ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς	πανήγυρις ἐκλεκτῶν, ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς . . .
ταῖς ἀρρήτοις καὶ ἀνεπιλογίστοις ἡμῖν θεολογίαις . . .	ἀσιγήτοις θεολογίαις . . .

It is difficult not to see in the homily an echo of the liturgical text, one Eusebius, bishop of his hometown Caesarea in Palestine from 313, would have used at every eucharist he celebrated. The Sanctus, though not mentioned explicitly, is obviously the hymn referred to. The fact that Eusebius says no mortal can worthily sing it might seem at first to *exclude* a liturgical Sanctus in Palestine, did the preacher not betray this as a rhetorical flourish by immediately

(4) PO 26.2:200.8-11 = PE 246.7-11.

(5) PO 26.2:200.14ff = PE 246:12ff. The same is true of AM: compare the Urtext in MACOMBER, *Addai and Mari* 362-3 with the later, interpolated text in PE 376-7.

contradicting himself to admit that we have indeed been found worthy of these things.

This, then, I would take to be our earliest clearly datable reference to the anaphoral Sanctus. Even if Eusebius revised his discourse before incorporating it into Book X, generally considered a later addition to his *Church History*, the whole history was at any rate completed before 325.(6)

2. *The Mystagogical Catecheses (late 4th c.)*

The next Palestinian witness is Cyril/John of Jerusalem, *Catechesis 5*, 6:

> After this we make mention of heaven, and earth, and sea; of the sun and moon; of the stars and all the creation, rational and irrational, visible and invisible; of Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Thrones; of the Cherubim with many faces: in effect repeating that call of David's, *Magnify the Lord with me* [LXX Ps 34:3]. We make mention also of the Seraphim, whom Esaias by the Holy Ghost beheld encircling the throne of God, and with two of their wings veiling their countenances, and with two their feet, and with two flying, who cried, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Sabaoth*. For, for this cause rehearse we this confession of God (θεολογίαν), delivered down to us from the Seraphim, that we may join in hymns with the hosts of the world above.(7)

The date of this incontrovertible witness to the Sanctus in the hagiopolite eucharistic anaphora depends on the much controverted question of authorship between Cyril during his turbulent episcopacy (348-357, 362-367, 378-386) and his successor John II (386-417). Piédagnel has recently reviewed the dossier,(8) and the weight of opinion seems to be leaning toward the following conclusions:

1. The catecheses are certainly not from ca. 350, as was once thought.
2. They are from the end of the century, most likely after 380 (Cyril died in 387).

(6) BARDY, *Introduction*, SC 73c:41-6, 108-10.

(7) Trans. *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments. The Protocatechesis and Five Mystagogical Catecheses*, ed. F. L. CROSS, trans. by R. W. CHURCH (Crestwood NY 1977) 73-4.

(8) SC 126bis: *Introduction*, 21-8 and *Appendice* 1: *L'auteur des Catéchèses Mystagogiques* 177-87.

3. The catecheses *in their present form* are probably attributable to John as their final redactor.
4. But they probably go back to texts, originally of Cyril, that were used year after year, undergoing redactional emendations in the process.
5. Even in their present form they still contain schemata, themes, even passages, derived directly from Cyril.(9)

One of the problems affecting the authorship debate is the form of the Sanctus in *Cat. 5*, 6, which addresses the hymn to God and avoids giving it a trinitarian sense. Furthermore, the passage gives the short form of the Sanctus (i.e., without Benedictus), which Kretschmar would trace to the Origenist interpretation of Is 6:1-3 current in Jerusalem under John II at the end of the fourth century.(10) Does this mean that the hagiopolite Sanctus is an Egyptian derivative? Cuming has carried the "Egyptian connection" so far as to argue that the Sanctus in the catecheses represents but one of several "Egyptian elements in the Jerusalem liturgy,"(11) a view challenged (effectively, I believe) by Spinks.(12) But if Spinks has shown Cuming's views to be less than suasive, Kretschmar is less easily dismissed – which leads us to Egypt, and Kretschmar's tightly reasoned hypothesis concerning the Egyptian provenance of the anaphoral Sanctus.

II. Egypt

As we have seen already in Part I section A.II of this study,(13) Egypt has an early Sanctus tradition, one so different from that of Cappadocia or Syria and the hagiopolite tradition represented by JAS (though not by Cyril/John, *Cat. 5*, 6) that the possibility of an

(9) *Ibid.* 185-7.

(10) *Ibid.* 26-7; G. Kretschmar, *Die frühe Geschichte der Jerusalemer Liturgie, Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 2 (1956) 24-8.

(11) See his article with that title in JTS 25 (1974) 117-124.

(12) B. D. Spinks, *The Jerusalem Liturgy of the "Catecheses Mystagogicae": Syrian or Egyptian?* SP 18.2 (Kalamazoo-Louvain 1990) 391-402, esp. 393.

(13) OCP 57 (1991) 284-5.

earlier (or at least as early) anaphoral Sanctus there must be considered. Already in 1938, Dix proposed that Jerusalem may have borrowed the Sanctus from Egypt, where Dix thought it could already be seen seen reflected in Origen († ca. 254), *De principiis*, composed in Alexandria after 217 and before Origen's exile to Caesarea in Palestine in 231.(14) Dix's hypothesis is based on a comparison of the Egyptian presanctus common to MK and Sarapion, with related passages in the works of Origen, especially *De principiis* I, 3:4 and IV 3:14.

SARAPION	MARK
Tu enim (es) qui (es) supra omnem principatum et potestatem et virtutem et dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc saeculo sed etiam in futuro.	Tu enim es qui (es) supra omnem principatum et potestatem et virtutem et dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc saeculo sed etiam in futuro.
Tibi adstant millia millium et dena millia denum millium angelorum, archangelorum, thronorum, dominationum, principatuum, potestatum;	Tibi adstant millia millium et dena millia denum millium sanctorum angelorum et archangelorum exercitus.
Tibi adstant duo honoratissima	Tibi adstant duo honoratissima tua animalia, multocula Cherubim
Seraphim sex alata, binis alis velantes faciem,	et sex alata Seraphim quae binis quidem alis facies velantes,

(14) G. Dix, *Primitive Consecration Prayers, Theology* 37 (1938) 261-283, here 271-7; Dix resumes the argument in *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London 1945) 165, 221, 225-7. On the date of *De princ.* see H. Crouzel, M. Simonetti, *Introduction*, SC 252:10-12 (full title in the following note).

binis pedes, binis volantes et sanctificantes. Cum quibus suscipe etiam nostram sanctificationem	et binis pedes, et binis volantes et clamant alter ad alterum incessabilibus vocibus, et non tacentibus theologiis, triumphalem et ter-sanctum hymnum,
dicentium:	canentia, clamantia, glorificantia, et dicentia, magnificae tuae gloriae.
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus . . .	*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus . . .*

ORIGEN, *De principiis* I, 3:4: My Hebrew master used to say that the two Seraphim, which are described in Isaiah [6:2-3] as having six wings each and as crying one to another and saying, "*Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts,*" were to be understood to mean the only-begotten Son of God and the Holy Spirit. And we ourselves think that the expression in the song of Habakuk, "In the midst of the two animals" (or the two living creatures) "you shall be known" [LXX Hab 3:2], should be understood to refer to Christ and the Holy Spirit. For all knowledge of the Father, when the Son reveals him, is made known to us through the Holy Spirit. So that both of these, who in the words of the prophet are called "animals" or "living beings," are the cause of our knowledge of God the Father. For as it is said of the Son that "no one knows the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son wills to reveal him" [Mt 11:27], so in the same way does the apostle speak of the Holy Spirit; "God has revealed them to us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searches all things, even the depths of God" [1 Cor 2:10]. Again, when in the Gospel the Savior is referring to the divine and deeper doctrines which his disciples could not yet receive, he speaks to the apostles as follows: "I have yet may things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now [Jn 16:12]. When the Comforter has come, the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father, he shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you" [Jn 14:26]. So then we must understand that as the Son, who alone knows the Father, reveals him to whom he will, in the same way also the Holy Spirit, who alone "searches even the depths of God" [1 Cor 2:10], reveals God to whom he will. For "the Spirit breathes where he wills" [Jn 3:8].([15])

([15]) Trans. adapted from G. W. BUTTERWORTH, *Origen on First Principles* (London 1936) 32-33, made from the ed. of KOETSCHAU, GCS 22 (ORIGENES

ORIGEN, *De principiis* IV, 3: My Hebrew teacher also used to teach as follows: since the beginning or the end of all things could not be comprehended by any except our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, this was the reason why Isaiah spoke of there being in the vision that appeared to him two Seraphim only, who with two wings cover the face of God, with two cover his feet,, and with two fly, crying one to another and saying, "*Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of your glory*" [Is 6:2-3]. Since the two Seraphim alone have their wings over the face of God and over his feet, we may venture to declare that neither the armies of the holy angels, nor the holy thrones, nor the dominions, nor principalities, nor powers, can wholly know the beginnings of all things and the ends of the universe.([16])

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5) 53-4. Here is the original Latin from the more recent ORIGÈNE, *Traité des principes*, ed. H. CROUZEL, M. SIMONETTI, Tomes 1-2: Livres I-II (SC 252-253, Paris 1978); Tomes 3-4: Livres III-IV (SC 268-269, Paris 1980); here, SC 252:148-50: "Dicebat autem et Hebraeus magister quod duo illa Seraphin, quae in Esaia senis alis describuntur clamantia adinuicem et dicentia: *Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus Sabaoth*, de unigenito filio dei et de spiritu sancto esset intelligendum. Nos uero putamus etiam illud, quod in cantico Ambacum dictum est: *In medio duorum animalium* (uel *duarum uitarum) cognosceris*, de Christo et de spiritu sancto sentiri debere. Omnis enim scientia de patre, reuelante filio, in spiritu sancto cognoscitur, ut ambo haec, quae secundum prophetam uel animantia uel uitae dicuntur, causa scientiae dei patris existant. Sicut enim de filio dicitur quia *nemo nouit patrem nisi filius et cui uoluerit filius reuelare*, haec eadem etiam de spiritu sancto dicit apostolus, cum ait: *Nobis autem reuelauit deus per spiritum suum; spiritus enim omnia scrutatur, etiam alta dei.* Sed et rursus in euangelio de diuinis ac profundioribus doctrinis commemorans saluator quae nondum capere poterant discipuli sui, ita ait ad apostolos: *Adhuc multa habeo quae uobis dicam, sed non potestis illa modo capere; cum autem uenerit paracletus spiritus sanctus, qui ex patre procedit, ille uos docebit omnia, et commonebit uos omnia, quae dixi uobis.* Et ita sentiendum est quod sicut filius, qui solus cognoscit patrem, reuelat cui uult: ita et spiritus sanctus, qui solus scrutatur etiam alta dei, reuelat deum cui uult. *Spiritus enim ubi uult spirat.*"

([16]) Trans. adapted from BUTTERWORTH (see previous note) 311 (from GCS 22 [ORIGENES 5] 346); here is the extant Latin text from SC 268:394: "Nam et hebraeus doctor ita tradebat: pro eo quod initium omnium uel finis non posset ab ullo conpraehendi nisi tantummodo a domino Iesu Christo et ab spiritu sancto, aiebat per figuram uisionis Esaiam dixisse duos Seraphin solos esse, qui duabus quidem alis operiunt faciem dei, duabus uero pedes, et duabus uolant clamantes ad inuicem sibi et dicentes: *Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus Sabaoth, plena est uniuersa terra gloria tua.* Quod ergo sola Seraphin utraque alas suas habent in facie dei et in pedibus eius, audendum est pronuntiare quod neque exercitus sanctorum angelorum necque sanctae sedes

Even a superficial comparison of Sarapion-MK with Origen reveals the striking similarities. From this confrontation, Dix deduced the following:

1. Both Origen and Sarapion-MK stress the *two* Seraphim of LXX Is 6:3, an Egyptian liturgical peculiarity: Antiochene-type anaphoras simply mention the Seraphim in the plural.
2. Both Origen and MK apply "the living beings (ζῶα = animalia)" of the LXX paschal canticle Hab 3:2, to these two Sanctus Seraphim.(17)
3. Origen and Sarapion(18) both cite Mt 11:27, "No one knows the Father but the Son and anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him," in the context of the Sanctus.
4. There is a close resemblance between Origen's Alexandrian exegesis of Is 6, in which the two Seraphim are identified as the Son and Holy Spirit who alone can comprehend the Father, and the whole tenor of the Egyptian Sanctus setting with its emphasis on the Father as known and revealed through the Son and Spirit.

From Origen himself we learn that this is a Judeo-Christian exegesis, one he adopted as his standard teaching in the cited passages and elsewhere, as can be seen in his sermon *In Is hom. 1*, 2, also extant only in Latin,(19) as well as in the critique of Origen's view in Jerome's *Commentary on Isaiah* III, vi, 6.7-8,(20) and in Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on Isaiah*, Book I, *Oratio 4*, on Is 6:1-3.(21)

Kretschmar subjects this material to a thoroughgoing analysis in his study of early trinitarian theology. He, too, notes with Dix that

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necque dominationes necque principatus necque potestates scire possunt integre initium omnium et fines uniuersitatis."

(17) On the history of the Christian exegesis of Hab 3:2-3, see R. GROVE, *The Interpretation of Scripture in Christian Liturgical Texts. A Case Study of Habakkuk 3:2-3*, *θεολογία* 54 (1983) 319-346, esp. 324-7.

(18) PE 128, 1.4.

(19) GCS 33 (ORIGENES 8) 244-5.

(20) CCL 73:88-90 = PL 24:96-8.

(21) PG 70:173. Both these sources are cited in DIX, *Consecration Prayers* (note 14 above) 275, note.

the entire setting of the Sanctus is similar in Sarapion, in the Der Balizeh fragment, and in MK, despite the notable variants these texts manifest in other constituents of the anaphora: institution narrative, anamnesis, epiclesis, and intercessions.(22) So we seem to have in this Egyptian Sanctus setting an ancient piece derived from the Alexandrian exegetical tradition.

Kretschmar denies, however, that Origen's writings reflect the liturgical influence of an already existing anaphoral Sanctus in Alexandria. Rather, he believes it was the Origenist theology that left its stamp on the form and understanding of the Sanctus there.(23) For Origen, Christ alone is high priest and mediator, and Origen's understanding of Is 6:2-3 shows no influence of the liturgical Sanctus.(24) Such an influence Kretschmar does perceive in the writings of Hierakas of Leontopolis in Egypt at the turn of the fourth-fifth century, in his Melchisidekite views, based on Rom 8:26 and Heb 7:3, that the Holy Spirit is a priest like Christ, and appeared on earth as Melchisedek – all of which we learn from Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315-403), *Panarion* 67.1:1-4; 3:2,(25) written ca. 374-377. Since Hierakas appeals directly to the apocryphal *Ascension of Isaiah*(26) to support his ideas, Kretschmar sees this as relating the Sanctus to the old paraclete tradition. Furthermore, Kretschmar believes that the relation between Origenist theology and the liturgical Sanctus tradition in Egypt is so close that only a bishop of the Origenist school could have introduced it into the anaphora. This must have happened no later than the second half of the third century, which leads us to Dionysius the Great, bishop of Alexandria from 247-264.(27)

Summing up for Egypt, then, Kretschmar proposes the following:(28)

1. Origen, following an Egyptian Judeo-Christian apocalyptic tradition, interprets Is 6:2-3 as referring to Jesus and the

(22) KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 155.

(23) *Ibid.* 164.

(24) *Ibid.* 163.

(25) GCS 37 (EPIPHANIUS 3) 132-5.

(26) On this source see KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 71-8; text in R. H. CHARLES, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (London 1900).

(27) KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 164.

(28) *Studien* 180-82.

Holy Spirit. At the same time, he understands the Sanctus as a revelation of the Trinity.

2. In the middle of the third (?) century the Sanctus thus understood is incorporated into the anaphora in Alexandria. It is the chant of the two Seraphim, Christ and the Holy Spirit, who mediate the community's access to God, and through whom the community brings its sacrifice of praise to the Father.
3. The immediate occasion of this development was the trinitarian heresy of Sabellianism.
4. Later, the Origenist exegesis of the two Seraphim of Is 6:2-3 is abandoned, and only the relation of the thrice-holy hymn to the Trinity is preserved.([29])

That the Sanctus in Egypt, when it does appear, shows the characteristics Dix and Kretschmar note in Origen, is clear. It is also evident that the Sanctus is central to the flow of the reworked Egyptian anaphoral structure, and not just a crude interpolation.([30]) Kretschmar is certainly right, too, in viewing this Egyptian liturgical setting of the Sanctus as the result of the Judeo-Christian, Alexandrian exegesis of Is 6 adopted and developed by Origen, and in concluding that this influenced the Egyptian anaphoral tradition, and that decisively. But when? That this Sanctus is already in place ca. 350 in Sarapion is clear,([31]) though Cuming holds it to be an earlier

([29]) The Coptic Anaphora of St. Matthew the Evangelist gives a radically trinitarian sense to the Sanctus, showing that the later Egyptian tradition had completely abandoned the earlier interpretation: A. M. KROPP, *Die koptische Anaphora des heiligen Evangelisten Matthäus*, OC 20 = ser. 3 vol. 7 (1932) 112-3.

([30]) KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 152-8; DIX, *Shape* (note 14 above) 166-67.

([31]) I shall not enter into the question of the authenticity of the mid-fourth century *Euchology of Sarapion* (FUNK II, 158-95; anaphora only: PE 128-33), an Egyptian Greek service book attributed to Sarapion, bishop of Thmuis in the Province of Augustamnica Prima in Lower Egypt from before 339 until after 362 (on Thmuis and its bishops, see G. FEDALTO, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis* 2 vols. I: *Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus*; II: *Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus* [Padua 1988] II, 611) except to say that in spite of some obvious problems, I do not find the arguments against authenticity convincing, though most recently, Kretschmar has again expressed reserves about it: G. KRETSCHMAR, *La liturgie ancienne dans les recherches historiques actuelles*, *La Maison-Dieu* 149 (1982) 68-9. The dossier is reviewed by G. J. CUMING, *The Anaphora of St. Mark. A Study in Development*, Mus 95 (1982) 117. Much has been written on this source, though nothing definitive. In addition to its treatment in general works on the eucharistic anaphora or on the eucharist in Egypt, see A. BAUMSTARK, *Die Anaphora von Thmuis und ihre Überarbeitung durch den hl. Serapion*, *Römische Quartalschrift* 18 (1904) 123-42; B. BOTTE, *L'Eucologe de Sérapion est-il authentique?* OC 48 (1964) 50-56; B. CAPELLE, *L'anaphore de Sérapion. Essai d'exégèse*, Mus 59 (1946) 425-43 = ID., *Travaux liturgiques* II (Louvain 1962) 344-58; G. J. CUMING, *Thmuis Revisited: Another Look at the Prayers of Bishop Sarapion*, *Theological Studies* 41 (1980) 568-75, who defends the document's authenticity (p. 575); K. GAMBER, *Die Serapion-Anaphora, ihrem ältesten Bestand nach untersucht*, OKS 16 (1967) 33-42; E. MAZZA, *L'anafora di Serapione: una ipotesi di interpretazione*, *Ephemerides liturgicae* 95 (1981) 510-28; A. D. NOCK, *Liturgical Notes. I. The Anaphora of Serapion*, JTS 30 (1929) 381-90; P. E. RODOPOULOS, *Doctrinal Teaching in the "Sacramentary" of Serapion of Thmuis*, *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 9 (1963-64) 201-14; ID., *The Sacramentary of Serapion*. From a thesis for the degree of B. Litt. within the University of Oxford, *Θεολογία* 28 (1957) 252-75, 420-39, 578-91; 29 (1958) 45-54, 208-17; A. VERHEUL, *La prière eucharistique dans l'Euchologe de Sérapion*, *Questions liturgiques* 62 (1981) 43-51. I owe some of the above references to Maxwell E. Johnson, a doctoral candidate in liturgical studies in the Department of Theology at the University of Notre Dame (USA), who is preparing his dissertation on this sacramentary under the direction of Prof. Paul F. Bradshaw. Hopefully, Johnson's study will shed some more light on the authenticity issue.

interpolation there, albeit "at an earlier date than in any other source."([32]) So just when, in the years between ca. 250-350, the Sanctus was actually interpolated into the Egyptian anaphoral structure is by no means clear on the basis of the evidence adduced. Kretschmar believes already in the third century, and though I am unable to confirm this dating, I also see no reason to challenge it.

All this makes it likely that the Egyptian Sanctus tradition is:

1. Independent of developments elsewhere.
2. Irreducible, therefore, to other forms of the Sanctus tradition, and hence prior to them.
3. Very early, having entered the Egyptian anaphoral structure when it was still in the process of formation.

([32]) CUMING, *Thmuis Revisited* (previous note) 575.

III. Syria

1. *The Apostolic Constitutions (ca. 380)*

In the Antiochia region of Syria the anaphoral Sanctus appears ca. 380 in *ApConst* VIII, 12:27: "Holy, holy, holy Lord Sabaoth, heaven and earth [are] full of *his* glory! Blessed are *you* unto the ages, amen!"(33) This is the same redaction of the liturgical Sanctus Asterios cites in *Hom. 19*, 10, except that *ApConst* adds after "heaven and earth [are] full of his glory," the conclusion "blessed are (ει) you unto the ages, amen" – i.e., Rom 1:25, 9:5, with the verb interpolated. The hymn is addressed to God "the Master-Pantocrator," before whom "bows down the Paraclete, but above all your holy child, Jesus Christ our Lord and our God . . ." Right after the hymn the text turns directly to the christological narrative: "For holy are you in truth . . . Holy also is your only-begotten Son, our Lord and God Jesus Christ, who . . ." (VIII, 12:29-30).

2. *John Chrysostom (ante 398)*

From the metropolis of Antioch itself, this same anaphoral Sanctus, sung by the people and including "heaven and earth are full of *his* glory," but with no mention of a Benedictus in this or any redaction, is abundantly testified to in the Antiochene homilies of Chrysostom before he went to Constantinople at the beginning of 398. Chrysostom generally speaks of the hymn as addressed to God without trinitarian specification.(34)

IV. Cappadocia

Since Cappadocia was within the Antiochene sphere of liturgical influence, I would presume that possible evidence for the Sanctus in Cappadocia as early as the second quarter of the fourth century

(33) SC 336:192.

(34) E.g., *In illud: Vidi Dominum, hom. 1*, 3, PG 56:100; *In 2 Cor hom. 18*, 3, PG 61:527; *In Eph hom. 14*, 4, PG 62:104; cf. F. van de Paverd, *Zur Geschichte der Meßliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts* (OCA 187, Rome 1970) 276-87.

should reflect a practice already in place in Antioch at the same time if not earlier, even if our earliest Antiochene witnesses to the Sanctus, discussed in the previous section, are half a century later. In the case of the Sanctus, as with other liturgical units, the date of its origins and the date when we first see it in the extant sources are not always the same: such sources certainly furnish a *terminus post quem non*, not necessarily one *ante quem non*.

The problem has to do with our next Sanctus documents, a series of homilies generally attributed to a certain Asterios Sophistes of Cappadocia,(35) an attribution recently challenged in favor of a later author, date, and place, as we shall see.

1. *Asterios Sophistes (ca. 337)*

Hansjörg Auf der Maur has proposed a hitherto ignored early witness to the anaphoral Sanctus: Asterios Sophistes of Cappadocia († ca. 341), a convert, possibly from Judaism, who had apostatized in the persecution of Maximian (286-305)(36) and was received back into communion after due penance.(37) Though Asterios' apostasy had effectively excluded him from entering the clergy, he was unusually active in ecclesiastical affairs, preaching in Cappadocia and Syria even during liturgical services, a very rare thing for a layman in those days,(38) especially a layman once tainted with extreme Arianism who remained a subordinationist all his life. Asterios travelled often to Syria and Palestine, and seems to have attended the Council of Jerusalem in 335. We last hear of him accompanying Deanus, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, to the Council of Antioch in 341.(39)

Asterios' homilies, the source that interests us here, are dated ca. 337. In two of them, the paschal *Hom. 15*, 16, and *Hom. 29*, 10, on

(35) CPG 2815.

(36) On the reign of Maximianus Herculeus, see Pauly-Wissowa 14.2:2486-2516.

(37) On Asterios, see Auf der Maur 2-6; G. Gelsi, *Kirche, Synagogue und Taufe in den Psalmenhomilien des Asterios Sophistes* (Vienna 1978) 1-8.

(38) See K. Delehaye, *Laienpredikt*, LTK 6:747-48; cf. *ApConst* VIII, 32:16-17, SC 336:239-40.

(39) Cf. Mansi 2:1350; Sozomen, HE III, 5, PG 67:1044; J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles* I.2 (Paris 1907) 702-733.

the psalms, Asterios has the heavenly choirs chanting the angelic Sanctus of Is 6:3.(40) The following points are especially worth noting:

1. In both passages the homilist also cites the Ezk 3:12 Benedictus, as in the Sanctus of the synagogue *Yotser* and *ApConst* VII, 35:3.(41)
2. In *Hom. 15* the chant is addressed to the risen and ascended Lord, though the addressee is less clear in *Hom. 29*.(42)
3. Even more significant, perhaps, is the fact that Asterios, *Hom. 29*, 10, cites the Sanctus with the Christian gloss, "*Heaven and* earth [are] full of his glory,"(43) just as in *ApConst* VIII, 12:27.(44)

The context of the homilies is liturgical. The service is the Easter Vigil, and though it is not said so explicitly, it seems that the Sanctus was sung at it. For the homilist's whole point is to show that Christ's victory has joined earth and heaven into one choir, making it possible for the children of earth to glorify Christ together with the heavenly choirs.(45) It is precisely through baptism, which had just taken place at the vigil, that the faithful – and only they – are enabled to take part in the praise. After Eusebius (section F.1 above), this is the first reference to the earthly worshippers, not just the angels, joining in the heavenly praise of the liturgical Sanctus,(46) a notion found in the Jewish *Qeduššah* ca. 130-160, in Rabbi Juda, *Tosefta Berakoth* I, 9b(47) and in the second-century *Šemoneh-'ess-reh*,(48) where the congregation and the presider alternate the *Qe-*

(40) Relevant texts in RICHARD 115, 233.

(41) *Ibid.* 90. Cf. Part I of this study, section C.II.7, OCP 57 (1991) 302-4.

(42) AUF DER MAUR 86.

(43) *Ibid.* 89-90.

(44) See above at note 33.

(45) AUF DER MAUR 86.

(46) *Ibid.* 87. 1 Clem 34:7 (see Part I, section C.I.2, OCP 57 [1991] 299-300) exhorts the faithful to imitate the angels in glorifying God, but does not say they do so with the same chant.

(47) KRETSCHMAR, *Neue Arbeiten* II, 83.

(48) PE 45-46; cf. E. WERNER, *The Genesis of the Liturgical Sanctus*, in: J. A. WESTRUP (ed.), *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz* (Oxford 1966) 22.

duššah. Previously, only the leader recited it.(49) This participation in the chant of the angels will become a topos in later Christian interpretations of the eucharistic Sanctus.(50) Auf der Maur concludes that we have here our first christianization of the synagogue *Qeduššah*, its Jewish origins clearly betrayed by the way in which the Sanctus is strung together with other biblical texts (Ezk 3:12; Ps 23/24:7; Lk 2:13-14).(51)

I need not rehearse all the arguments of Auf der Maur's convincing case that we have here the echo of a Christian liturgical Sanctus derived from Jewish usage. But this still does not prove a use of the Sanctus *in the anaphora*. For that, we must turn to Asterios, *Hom. 16*, 15, a passage that provides the keystone of Auf der Maur's reconstruction. I number each sentence of the passage to facilitate reference in the following discussion:

> **1.** But also now from the mouth of children and sucklings has praise been prepared. **2.** For see the newly-illumined [νεοφωτίστους, the just baptized neophytes] like immaculate children conceived from on high; **3.** [see] how they, who once soiled the mouth with impure songs, **4.** right now [ἄρτι] sing psalms [ψαλμούς], moved by the Holy Spirit, **5.** and right now for the first time sing [ἄρτι πρώτως λέγουσι] the hymn of the faithful [τὸν ὕμνον τῶν πιστῶν], **6.** and send up a praise which they have never heard.(52)

The scenario is the Easter Vigil eucharist, for it is clear that the faithful being addressed can see the newly baptized neophytes (**2**). Hence the bishop has completed the rites in the baptistry and the neophytes have already joined the community which had been keeping the customary vigil, with lections, in the basilica while awaiting the entrance of the procession from the baptistry. Now united with the rest of the faithful, the neophytes sing psalms (**4**) and the "hymn of the faithful" (**5**), a hymn of praise (**6**) they have neither sung (**5**) nor even heard (**6**) before.

What could this hymn be? No argument can be made from the

(49) KRETSCHMAR, *Neue Arbeiten* II, 83.

(50) E.g. CYRIL/JOHN OF JERUSALEM, *Cat. 5*, 6, SC 126bis:154-5; GREGORY OF NYSSA, *De iis qui baptismum differunt*, PG 46:421C; CHRYSOSTOM, *In Eph hom. 14*, 4, PG 62:104ff.

(51) AUF DER MAUR 90-91. On Jews in Cappadocia and Jewish influence on Christianity there, see GELSI, *Kirche* (note 37 above) 9-27.

(52) RICHARD 122, my translation.

nomenclature. "Psalms, hymns, odes" (Col 3:16; Eph 5:19) are employed broadly in Christian Greek for any song or chant,(53) though "psalm" means primarily the biblical psalms. Ὕμνος, "hymn of praise," is used of the biblical psalms as well as other chants, and later the Sanctus is commonly referred to by this term.(54) From the liturgical context of the homily one can deduce the following:

1. The chant is part of the mass.
2. It is a hymn of praise.
3. It is not a biblical psalm.
4. Since the newly baptized never heard it before, it is part of the *arcanum*, part of the eucharistic liturgy that follows the dismissals of the catechumens and *photizomenoi*, part of the "Liturgy of the Faithful."

Only two realistic possibilities meet these characteristics: Asterios is referring, 1) to the entire eucharistic part of the service, or 2) to some particular chant within it. I do not know of any instance of 1), i.e., in which ὕμνος refers to the anaphora *tout court*, though εὐχαριστία can mean a hymn of praise that is not the eucharist in the restricted, technical sense in which we now use the term.(55) Furthermore, it is most unlikely that Asterios would have referred to the anaphora as a hymn sung by the whole congregation. So he must mean alternative 2), i.e., some particular chant during the eucharistic part of the synaxis. At this early period the only possibility would be some non-psalmic chant of the anaphora or communion rites. The earliest available evidence shows that the two chants at the transfer of gifts and during communion were both psalmic. That leaves the anaphoral Sanctus, the response to the *Sancta sanctis* communion call,(56) and, perhaps, some additional anaphoral praise-chant such as

(53) Cf. G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961) 1431, 1539-40, 1555; AUF DER MAUR 76, citing EUSEBIUS, HE V, 28:5, GCS 9.1 (EUSEBIUS 2.1) 500; SC 41:75; J. KROLL, *Die christliche Hymnodik bis zu Klemens von Alexandreia* (Darmstadt 1968) 4-7.

(54) LAMPE (previous note) 1431.

(55) KROLL, *Hymnodik* (note 53 above) 7.

(56) See R. TAFT, *"Holy Things for the Saints": The Ancient Call to Communion and its Response*, in: G. AUSTEN (ed.), *Fountain of Life. In Memory of Niels K. Rasmussen, O.P.* (NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy, Washington DC 1991) 87-102.

the Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν in Byzantine usage and elsewhere,(57) as possible "hymns of praise."

A more remote possibility would be some other item of the *arcanum* like the Our Father or the creed. I would agree with Auf der Maur that the Our Father can be discounted.(58) It is never referred to as a hymn, and besides, it was not unknown to the newly baptized since it had been "handed over" to the candidates earlier in the initiation process,(59) and recited by them for the first time as soon as they emerged from the font.(60) I am not so confident, however, that one can exclude the creed. Of course we know that the symbol was not a permanent part of eastern eucharists until the sixth century,(61) but that does not exclude a solemn chanting of the creed at the mass of the Easter Vigil, after the entrance of the newly baptized. At any rate one cannot exclude the creed by arguing that it is never referred to as a "hymn."(62) At the end of the fifth century Ps.-Dionysius could mean just that by his "catholic hymn" (καθολικὴ ὑμνολογία) in EH III, 2 and 3:7.(63) That is how John Scholasticus, bishop of Scythopolis in Palestine (536-550), interprets it in his scholia (*post* 532) incorporated by Maximus Confessor into his interpretation of Ps.-Dionysius' work.(64)

(57) See BRIGHTMAN 88.10-16, 178.18-19, 329.9-10, 438.12-14; G. J. CUMING, *The Liturgy of St. Mark* (OCA 234, Rome 1990) 43.9; A. GERHARDS, *Die griechische Gregoriosanaphora. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Eucharistischen Hochgebets* (LQF 65, Münster 1984) 34.193-4; PE 226, 236, 267, 271, 287, 290, 296, 305, 307, 312, 317, 322, 329, 335, 339, 352, 364, 377, 384, 393; cf. J.-M. HANSSENS, *Institutiones liturgicae de ritibus orientalibus* II-III (Rome 1930, 1932) III, 451-2 (no. 1321).

(58) AUF DER MAUR 78.

(59) See, for example, TERTULLIAN, *De oratione* 1.6, 9.1, CCL 1:257-8, 262-3; CYPRIAN, *De dominica oratione* 1-2, 28, CCL 3A:90, 107-8; THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, *Hom. 11*, 2, ST 145:283. Cf. A. HAMMAN, *Le Notre Père dans la catéchèse des Pères de l'Église, La Maison-Dieu* 85 (1966) 41-68; R. JOHANNY, *La prière du Seigneur chez les Pères, Parole et pain* 12 (18 janv. 1966) 5-33.

(60) See, for example, *ApConst* VII, 45:1, SC 336:106; JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Col hom. 6*, 4, PG 62:342; JEROME, *Dialogus contra Pelagianos*, 3.15, PL 23:613.

(61) TAFT, *Great Entrance* 398-402.

(62) AUF DER MAUR 78.

(63) PG 3:425C, 436C.

(64) *Scholia* 3, PG 4:136. On the attribution of the Maximus scholia to John of Scythopolis, see H. U. VON BALTHASAR, *Das Problem der Dionysius-*

The eucharistic liturgy described by Ps.-Dionysius has the following structure:

1. Dismissal of the catechumens and other classes
2. Guarding of the doors
3. "Catholic Hymn"
4. Transfer and deposition of gifts
5. Prayer
6. Peace to all
7. Pax
8. Diptychs([65])
9. Lavabo
10. Unveiling of the gifts
11. Anaphora

In EH III, 2, after the lections, the catechumens, energoumenoi, and penitents are dismissed. Then the priests and deacons

> place on the altar the sacred bread and the cup of blessing, preceded by the singing of the catholic confession by the entire fullness of the church (προομολογηθείσης ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώματος τῆς καθολικῆς ὑμνολογίας).([66])

A bit later, EH III, 3:7 gives the following, fuller description of the confession. After explaining the significance of the dismissals, Dionysius continues:

> The most sacred ministers of the most sacred things and those fond of seeing holy things... sing by means of a catholic hymn (ὑμνολογίᾳ καθολικῇ) the praise of the beneficent and munificent principle by which were revealed to us the saving mysteries that celebrate the sacred deification of the initiated. Some call this hymn (ὕμνον) a confession (ὁμολογίαν), others the symbol of worship (τῆς θρησκείας τὸ σύμβολον), still others – more divinely, I think – a hierarchical thanksgiving (ἱεραρχικὴν εὐχαριστίαν), since it sums up all the holy gifts that come to us from God. It seems to me that it is the account of all the works of God on our behalf, celebrated in song. After he had benevolently established our existence and life, and formed in us the divine likeness according to beautiful archetypes, he put us in possession of a

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Scholien, in: ID., *Kosmische Liturgie. Das Weltbild Maximus' des Bekenners* (2nd ed. Einsiedeln 1961), 644-672.

([65]) In TAFT, *Great Entrance* 48-49, I mistakenly reversed the correct positions of lavabo and diptychs.

([66]) PG 3:425C.

> more divine condition and elevation. When he witnessed the loss of divine gifts that came to us through our imprudence, he called us back to our original state by a restoration of blessings and the complete assumption of our nature in order to make good the most perfect participation in his own [nature]. Thus, he gave us a share in God and in divine things.([67])

This might appear to be a description of salvation history as narrated in an economic anaphora like BAS, were that interpretation not excluded by Dionysius' earlier, full description of the order of the mass in EH III, 2, as well as from the liturgical elements that follow the cited passage in EH III, 3:8-13: the deposition of the gifts and the kiss of peace (3:8), the diptychs (3:9), the lavabo (3:10), the anaphora (3:11-12), communion (3:13), thanksgiving and dismissal (3:14-15). This makes it clear that the "hymn" in question preceded the anaphora.

Hence I believe this "catholic hymn" could be some sort of creed Dionysius is referring to, in spite of the skepticism I had previously expressed regarding this interpretation.([68]) Several mss of the Dionysian text confirm this with the variant reading that replaces ὑμνολογία with ὁμολογία, which is synonymous with σύμβολον, the profession of faith.([69]) In *The Celestial Hierarchy* VII, 4, however, Dionysius uses the term ὑμνολογίας for the Sanctus/Benedictus,([70]) so it is clear that one can build no case from his terminology.

But I need not solve that problem. The only point that needs making here is the possibility of a "hymn" in the "liturgy of the faithful" that is neither the Sanctus nor the eucharist as a whole. I am simply trying to be fair to the evidence, which does show that Asterios' ὕμνος could possibly refer to a creed at the Easter service, though in fact I consider Auf der Maur's interpretation far more plausible and, indeed, fully convincing.

([67]) PG 3:436; trans. adapted from DIONYSIUS THE PSEUDO-AREOPAGITE, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, trans. T. L. CAMPBELL (Lanham Md./NY/London 1981) 42.

([68]) TAFT, *Great Entrance* 398.

([69]) DENYS L'ARÉOPAGITE, *La Hiérarchie céleste*, introd. R. ROQUES, étude et texte critiques G. HEIL, trad. et notes M. DE GANDILLAC (2nd ed. SC 58bis, Paris 1970) xiii and note 4; CAMPBELL (note 67 above) 164 note 162; cf. 146 note 103.

([70]) SC 58bis (previous note) 118.

2. *Gregory of Nyssa († 394)*

Some fifty years after Asterios, St. Basil the Great's younger brother Gregory († 394), bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia from 371-376, 378-394, refers to the anaphoral Sanctus in terms remarkably like Asterios. In his *Homily against those who defer baptism*, Gregory addresses a catechumen who has done just that:

> Join with the mystical [i.e. baptized] people and learn secret words (λόγους ἀπορρήτους). Say with us those things that also the six-winged Seraphim say, singing a hymn of praise (ὑμνοῦντα) with the initiated (τελείων) Christians.(71)

This key text from the same province as, presumably, Asterios, *Hom. 16*, 5, in the same century, and in the same context of the liturgical effects immediately consequent to paschal baptism, confirms Auf der Maur's thesis. To whom the hymn is addressed, however, is not specified.

3. *Conclusion*

In summary, then, it would appear that by ca. 337-341 Christians in Cappadocia had:

1. Borrowed the *Qeduššah* of Jewish morning prayer together with the Benedictus of Ezk 3:12;
2. Christianized the Sanctus by adding the gloss "*heaven and* earth [are] full of his glory,"
3. And, at least in one text, by addressing it to the Risen Christ;
4. Introduced the Sanctus with Ezk 3:12 Benedictus first into their morning prayer;
5. Then into the Easter Vigil eucharist;
6. And ultimately into every eucharist.

When the final step (6) was taken remains moot, as does whether the christological address (3) can be generalized, or should rather be attributed to the Easter Vigil context of Asterios' homily.

At any rate, all this dovetails nicely with the best contemporary research concerning the introduction of the liturgical Sanctus in the

(71) PG 46:421C.

Latin West.(72) As we saw, Kähler traces the *Te deum* Sanctus back to Iberian Easter illations or prefaces, and Gamber has uncovered other third-fourth century (?) Gallican and Mozarabic Easter prefaces with Sanctus. But I have already dealt with this material above in Part I, section E.(73)

4. *The Authenticity Challenge*

But what if the homilies attributed to Asterios are not Cappadocian? In a recent study, Wolfram Kinzig has challenged Marcel Richard's and Eiliv Skards' attribution of these texts to the Cappadocian Asterios Sophistes.(74) Kinzig would attribute them, instead, to a later Asterios (*floruit* 385-410), a Nicene-orthodox from Palestine or, more likely, Antiochia.

What are we to make of this? In the first place, Karl-Heinz Uthemann has dubbed "hasty (vorschnell)" Kinzig's claim, greeted positively by more than one reviewer,(75) that "the hypotheses of Richard must therefore be seen as having been refuted,"(76) a challenge to which Kinzig has replied point for point.(77) But regardless of the outcome of this debate, which I have no intention of entering here, I do not think the issue will demand changes in my conclusions, for the following reasons:

1. The shape of the Sanctus in these Asterios homilies (with Benedictus of Ezk 3:12) would exclude an Egyptian/hagiopolite connection.
2. An Antiochene provenance of the homilies, preferred by Kinzig, leaves my hypothesis intact.

(72) See KRETSCHMAR, *Neue Arbeiten* II, 82.

(73) OCP 57 (1991) 306.

(74) KINZIG, *Search*. Kinzig summarizes his views in *Asterius Amasinus, Asterius Sophista or Asterius Ignotus? Reflections on the Authorship of the "Homilies on the Psalms" (ed. Marcel Richard)*, SP 20 (Oxford 1989) 15-23.

(75) W. KINZIG, *Asterius Sophista oder Asterius Ignotus? Eine Antwort*, VC 45 (1991) 389-398, lists them on pp. 388 and 397 note 2; for others with similar views, cf. ID., *Search* 13.

(76) KINZIG, *Search* 157; see UTHEMANN, review in VC 45 (1991) 194-203.

(77) KINZIG, *Eine Antwort* (note 75 above).

3. For if we exclude Palestine (Kinzig favors Antiochia without excluding Palestine, but I exclude it for the reason given in no. 1), the homilies are either from Cappadocia or Antiochia.
4. If from Cappadocia, which lay within the Antiochene sphere of liturgical influence, the liturgy they describe must have got its Sanctus from Antioch anyway.

So either way points to Antioch, and fits equally well with my view.

V. Mesopotamia

Thus far I have avoided the much debated Mesopotamian Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari.([78]) The earliest, tenth-eleventh century ms of AM, an anaphora which most would agree goes back to the third century, has the Sanctus.([79]) Not all would agree, however, that the Sanctus was part of the third century Urtext, though that position is arguable and Macomber and Spinks defend it.([80]) But I do not need to prove or disprove that position. For no matter how far back the AM Sanctus goes, no one argues that other traditions got their Sanctus from Mesopotamia, an influence that would be highly unlikely per se, and for which there is no evidence anyway.

VI. An Alexandria-Jerusalem-Antioch Axis?

The basic question still remains unanswered: who got the anaphoral Sanctus from whom? Egypt and the Jerusalem Sanctus of

([78]) In fact, I include consideration of AM here only because my graduate student John Klentos questioned me about its omission in the light of the 3rd c. dating some authors would assign to its Sanctus.

([79]) Macomber, *Addai and Mari* 362-3.

([80]) W. F. Macomber, *The Ancient Form of the "Anaphora of the Apostles,"* in: N. G. Garsoian, T. F. Mathews, R. W. Thomson (eds.), *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Washington DC 1982) 73-88, esp. 74, 76-7, 86; B. D. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge 1991) 57-61.

Cyril/John, *Cat. 5*, 6, share Origenist traits. Cappadocia and Syria share a common tradition with the hagiopolite Sanctus in its definitive form in JAS. How is one to sort out the respective influences?

A priori, on the basis of what we already know about the traffic-flow in the development of eastern liturgy, one might be tempted to favor fourth-century Jerusalem, a main center of innovative liturgical creativity and diffusion, as the point of entry for the anaphoral Sanctus. Egypt was a maverick, generally going its own way, so that when one sees Alexandrian oddities in another liturgy, one is inclined to attribute them to Egypt. Since hagiopolite creativity was usually imitated on a much broader scale, if the peculiarly Egyptian Sanctus setting had originated in Jerusalem, one would expect to find it in widespread use, and not limited to Egyptian and derived Ethiopic anaphoras (except for the single Jerusalem witness of Cyril/John).

As for the Antiochia-Cappadocia connection, before the rise of Constantinople Antioch was the dominant center of liturgical diffusion throughout Asia Minor, and so – again, *a priori* – one would lean toward Antioch as the source of commonality among the traditions under its liturgical sway. And the degree of liturgical interchange between the rite of Edessa, main center of liturgical influence in Syriac Mesopotamia, and its neighbors within the Roman Empire, provides a plausible Mesopotamian connection to explain how the East Syrians could have got their hands on the AM Sanctus just as easily they did on other elements originally foreign to their tradition.([81])

1. *From Alexandria to Jerusalem?*

The nub of the relation between the Sanctus in Alexandria and Jerusalem is of course the original form of the hagiopolite Sanctus. Two points are at issue:

1. Does the Sanctus of Cyril/John, *Cat. 5*, 6, represent an Origenist influence in Jerusalem during the episcopate of John II, as Kretschmar cogently argues?

([81]) W. F. Macomber, *A Theory on the Origins of the Syrian, Maronite and Chaldean Rites*, OCP 39 (1973) 235-242, as well as his article cited in the previous note.

2. And if so, does this represent the *original* hagiopolite Sanctus redaction, or a *departure from* an earlier, Antiochene-type Sanctus in JAS?

From Alexandria to Jerusalem in the second half of the fourth century is not a long step. The hagiopolite anaphoral Sanctus in Cyril/John, *Cat. 5*, 6, has characteristics in common with Egypt that are not found in JAS:

1. A clear distinction between the many-faced Cherubim and the two Seraphim.
2. A short redaction of the Sanctus, without the Benedictus.
3. The Sanctus addressed to the Father alone, not to the Trinity.

But there are also differences. In JAS the Sanctus is not the highpoint of the sacrifice of praise, as in Egypt, nor a foreign body that seems to split the anaphora in two, as in some Syrian anaphoras. Rather, the Sanctus introduces the thanksgiving for creation and redemption, which comes not in the pre- but in the postsanctus. This, Kretschmar believes, cannot be original; and does not help us locate the original site of the Sanctus in the liturgy described in *Cat. 5*, 6.([82])

That may be begging the question, however. For if Eusebius is indeed referring to the hagiopolite Sanctus as found in JAS already before 325 – and I think he is – then it would be equally possible to accept the substance of Kretschmar's argument on the Origenist provenance of the Sanctus in *Cat. 5*, 6 (a view which, however, Piédagnel considers "un peu hasardeuse"([83])), without that affecting in any way the possibly earlier Jerusalem Sanctus tradition as witnessed in JAS, where the Sanctus is addressed to the Father (the postsanctus gloss of the textus receptus of JAS([84]) is obviously a later anti-Arian interpolation) as in *Cat. 5*, 6, and – at least in Eusebius – there is no mention of the Benedictus.

The fact that John II of Jerusalem, to whom Kretschmar attributes the Jerusalem catechetical homilies,([85]) was a defender of Origen in the first Origenist conflict, ([86]) does not prove that in *Cat. 5*, 6, John deviates from the already existing hagiopolite Sanctus tradition.([87]) Furthermore, if point 1 above is indeed redolent of Egypt, it could also just reflect the biblical text of Is 6:2-3. And points 2-3 are not strong arguments for drawing a parallel between Egypt and the Jerusalem Sanctus. The short redaction in *Cat. 5*, 6, is too short: shorter than either the Egyptian or Antiochene-type Sanctus, which could simply mean that the homilist is referring to the chant by incipit without citing it integrally. At any rate, I do not think we can build from this alone a case for the Egyptian provenance of the hagiopolite Sanctus.

([82]) On the whole question see KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 168-69.
([83]) SC 126bis:155 note.
([84]) See notes 4-5 above.
([85]) KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 166. On this issue see above at note 8.

2. *The Addressee of the Sanctus*

The same must be said for point 3, the address of the Sanctus to the Father alone. This reflects the early tradition everywhere, and is commonplace at this date. Synagogue usage addresses the Sanctus to God the creator. In the exegesis of Origen, Christ and the Holy Spirit render the Sanctus to the Father, and this was its original sense in the Egyptian anaphora (Sarapion), according to Kretschmar.([88]) It is addressed to the Father in Cyril/John, *Cat. 5*, 6 and,

([86]) For a recent succinct description of the origins of this crisis, see U. ZANETTI, *Les "Lettres" de saint Antoine et la naissance du monachisme*, NRT 113 (1991) 92 note 12: "En bref, on peut dire que la crise origéniste, qui fut surtout une querelle entre diverses personnalités, partit de saint Épiphane (évêque de Salamine à Chypre de 365 à 403, et grand pourfendeur d'hérésies), lequel dénonça les «erreurs» d'Origène; en fait, ces reproches n'étaient pas justifiés, puisqu'on les addressait à Origène à propos de questions qui n'avaient surgi que longtemps après sa mort – mais les Anciens n'avaient pas les sens du développement de l'histoire. Les milieux monastiques étaient déjà divisés depuis longtemps sur la théologie d'Origène; attisée par des rivalités personnelles, la controverse tourna à l'aigre et, après Jérusalem et l'Égypte, atteindra Constantinople, où elle contribuera à la déposition de saint Jean Chrysostome. En Égypte, le patriarche Théophile avait fini par prendre violemment position contre les moines du parti origéniste – qui constituaient de fait l'élite intellectuelle –, et il les chassa de leur monastère et les persécuta; la conséquence en sera la baisse considérable du niveau intellectuel des moines, et surtout une méfiance marquée contre tout ce qui pouvait passer pour une activité de l'intelligence."
([87]) Cf. KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 169.
([88]) KRETSCHMAR, *Neue Arbeiten* II, 79, 81.

doubtless, was so also in UrJAS,([89]) as well as in the Antiochene tradition represented by *ApConst* VIII:27. This is in perfect accord with the early Jewish address, and with the emphasis on thanksgiving for creation in the early Syrian presanctus. For Kretschmar, however, the shift in address is a *crux interpretum*. By the end of the fourth century the creation motif has receded: in Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Hom. 16*, 6-10, the interpretation is decidedly trinitarian.([90]) Such an interpretation of the liturgical Sanctus surfaces in Egypt around the same time.([91]) The earliest witness is the conclusion of the anti-Eusebian tract *In illud omnia mihi tradita sunt* 6,([92]) a late fourth-century work attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (ca. 295-328) but probably not authentic. This hermeneutical shift is caught up in the fourth-century Arian and Origenist disputes.([93]) Though Origen, *In Is hom. 1*, 2, had affirmed that the Seraphim chanting "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus propter hoc servant mysterium Trinitatis,"([94]) his interpretation of the two Seraphim as Son and Holy Spirit had been exploited, inevitably, by the Arians. In response, ca. 375 Didymus the Blind of Alexandria (ca. 310/13-398) gives a trinitarian sense to the Sanctus in his *Liber de Spiritu Sancto* 29,([95]) in the *Adversus Eunomium* 5 (wrongly attributed to Basil),([96]) and we see the same in the *De Trinitate* I.19, 31 and II.11,([97]) which Didymus may have authored too, as well as in Ps.-Athanasius, *De incarnatione contra Arianos* 10.([98]) From Didymus this exegesis enters the

([89]) See notes 4-5 above.

([90]) ST 145:543-51; cf. KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 170.

([91]) KRETSCHMAR, *Neue Arbeiten* II, 81, correcting his earlier view in *Studien*.

([92]) PG 25:217-20 = CPG 2099.

([93]) See L. CHAVOUTIER, *Querelle origeniste et controverses trinitaires à propos du Tractatus contra Origenem de visione Isaiae*, VC 14 (1960) 9-14, esp. 10-12. Cf. KRETSCHMAR, *Neue Arbeiten* II, 79-80, to whom I owe this and the following sources concerning this question.

([94]) GCS 33 (ORIGENES 8) 244 lines 23-24.

([95]) PG 39:1059BC = CPG 2544.

([96]) PG 29:721C-724A = CPG 2571, 2837, to which add: W. M. HAYES, *Didymus the Blind is the Author of "Adversus Eunomium" IV/V*, SP 17.3 (Oxford 1982) 1108-1114.

([97]) PG 39:364ff, 424C-425A, 657ff, 744A, 797B, 800C = CPG 2570.

([98]) PG 26:1000-1 = CPG 2806. Some authors attribute this work to Marcellus of Ancyra († ca. 375), anti-Arian supporter of Athanasius at Nicea I (325), later condemned at Constantinople I (381) for his quasi-Sabellianism.

West via Jerome, who from 381 uses Didymus against Origen in *Ep. 18A*, 4-7,([99]) though the address of the eastern liturgical Sanctus to the Father is still accepted as the norm in this polemical literature. Ps.-Ambrose, *Libellus de Spiritu Sancto* IV.2, written in Northern Italy at the beginning of the fifth century, provides a clear example:

> Unde etiam tractum est per omnes fere orientales ecclesias et nonnullas occidentales, ut in oblationibus sacrificiorum, quae Deo Patri offerrentur, una cum sacerdote voce populus utatur, id est: *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Sabaoth, plena est omnis terra maiestatis eius.* Ergo secundum hoc constat prophetiam ad personam Dei patris referri oportere.([100])

So if the shift to a trinitarian emphasis in the liturgical Sanctus began in Alexandria in the second half of the fourth century, it must have appeared in Palestine and Syria shortly thereafter.([101]) Both Theodore of Mopsuestia([102]) and Athanasius/Ps.-Athanasius([103]) witness to this exegesis by the last quarter of the fourth century, though the liturgical texts of the same period as yet show no traces of this interpretation.

3. *An Antiochene Provenance?*

But what about Antiochia and/or its derivative Cappadocian witnesses, where early on, *Hom. 15*, 16, attributed to Asterios or to a later Syrian writer, and thus in either case ultimately from the Antiochene area of liturgical diffusion, addresses the Sanctus to the risen, glorified Christ?([104]) Kretschmar believes that the Antiochene christological Sanctus may antedate the influence on that tradition of the later Egyptian anti-Arian trinitarianizing of the thrice-holy hymn.

On the works of Marcellus, see M. TETZ, *Zur Theologie des Markell von Ankyra*, I: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1964) 217-270; II: 79 (1968) 3-42; III: 83 (1972) 145-194; here I: 261-2.

([99]) CSEL 54:77-84 (cf. no. 9, p. 86).

([100]) L. CHAVOUTIER, *Un Libellus Pseudo-Ambrosien sur le Saint-Esprit*, *Sacris erudiri* 11 (1960) 136-92 (text 141-51).

([101]) Cf. KRETSCHMAR, *Neue Arbeiten* II, 81.

([102]) *Hom. 16*, 36, ST 145:591.

([103]) References above, notes 92, 98.

([104]) The addressee in Asterios, *Hom. 19*, 9-10, RICHARD 233, is not clear. Cf. AUF DER MAUR 84-85.

This could mean that the Antiochene anaphora had the Sanctus before it was introduced into the eucharist in Egypt.([105]) Christological interpretations of the anaphoral Sanctus wili appear also in Egyptian sources,([106]) but I do not believe the christological Sanctus in Egypt or elsewhere can be considered the pristine, mainline hermeneutic. If that is not true of the *Sancta sanctis*, where the christological interpretation is earlier, as I have tried to prove elsewhere,([107]) one cannot draw a parallel between this and the Sanctus: the *Sancta sanctis* is a communion chant, where the christological interpretation is compulsory.

But what of the Matthean Benedictus, first attached to the Sanctus in Antiochene sources? Was not this patently christological text of Mt 21:9 attracted to the anaphora by a christological understanding of the Sanctus? Against this is the fact that even if, for the sake of argument, one were to concede greater antiquity to the christological Sanctus in Antiochene usage, the Matthean Benedictus makes its appearance there only after the address of the Sanctus to the Father has taken hold. Furthermore, experience with liturgical and patristic literature from this period makes me skeptical of presuming too much logic in the composition of texts: if the Benedictus is christological, then the Sanctus to which it was attracted must have been too. Far more likely a reason for the substitution of the Matthean text for the Benedictus of Ezk 3:12 would be the simple fact that the presence of the Benedictus from Ezk 3:12 gave someone the idea to use a Christian, New Testament verse with the same incipit instead.

Indeed, the shift to the trinitarian interpretation could have equally well prepared the way in the Antiochene eucharist for the move to the Matthean Benedictus, decidedly christological in tone, which occurs around the same time. In early Antiochene-type anaphoras like CHR/APSyr it fits snugly into the trinitarian flow of the

([105]) KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 176-8; but K. believes the Sanctus in Constantinople was trinitarian from the start: 148 note 2.

([106]) P. J. SIJPESTEIJN, "Sechs christliche Texte aus der Amsterdamer Papyrussammlung," *Studia papyrologica* 9 (1970) 98 no. IV; K. TREU, "Christliche Papyri," IV, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 23 (1974) 381; cf. the Egyptian tablet cited above in Part I, section A.III, OCP 57 (1991) 286-7; and the Anaphora of St. Matthew cited in note 29 above.

([107]) See my study cited in note 56 above.

anaphora, where it assists in linking the praise of the presanctus with the postsanctus narrative of the christological economy of salvation:

> *Holy (Father), Holy (Son), Holy (Spirit), Lord Sabaoth! Heaven and earth are full of your glory! Hosanna in the highest! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest.* With these heavenly powers, we too say holy are you indeed, O Father, who sent us your only-begotten Son ... And we ask you in turn to send your Holy Spirit on this offering ..., etc.([108])

G. CONCLUSION

Let me try to pull all this together. To summarize the evidence, if we take as our point of departure the extant anaphoral texts *as they are*, we have seen the following indisputable facts:

1. Certain complete (i.e., not fragmentary) anaphoras, including some of the earliest, contain no Sanctus.
2. No certainly complete Egyptian-type anaphora lacks the Sanctus, though many authors hold the Greek papyrus fragment *Strasbourg 254* to represent a complete Egyptian eucharistic prayer.
3. From the fourth century the Sanctus appears in anaphoras throughout the East.
4. By the end of the same century it is an integral component of the eastern anaphoras. Later anaphora mss without Sanctus, I would take to reflect an earlier stage of anaphoral evolution, or later redactions of early texts without Sanctus, like *Testamentum Domini* I, 23 with respect to *Apostolic Tradition* 4.

([108]) PE 241, 266. CHR reads as follows, with what I consider the later anti-Arian trinitarian gloss italicized and in brackets: "*Holy, holy, holy ... Hosanna in the highest!* With these blessed powers, O Master-Philanthropos, we too cry out and say, holy are you and all-holy, [*you and your only-begotten Son and your Holy Spirit*]; holy are you and all-holy, and magnificent is your glory, who so loved your world that you gave your only-begotten Son ...

5. The Sanctus, where found, is invariably integrated into the anaphoral text at some point between the opening praise and the institution narrative.
6. The literary form of this integration differs from tradition to tradition, and sometimes even within prayers of the same anaphoral type.
7. Only in Egyptian anaphoras is the Sanctus fully integral to the very structure of the prayer from the start.
8. In several Syrian-type anaphoras originating in Jerusalem, Antioch, Cappadocia, Constantinople, Edessa, modern authors judge the more or less successful integration of the Sanctus to show signs of later redactional work, the seams, perhaps, of later patching.([109])
9. The pristine Sanctus is everywhere addressed to God the Father except in Asterios Sophistes, *Hom. 15*, 16, where it is addressed to the risen Christ.
10. The later anti-Arian polemic affects a shift to a trinitarian interpretation of the thrice-holy hymn.
11. This, in turn, may have facilitated the substitution of the decidedly christological Matthean Benedictus for the primitive Antiochene Benedictus (*ApConst* VII, 35:3; VIII, 12:27).([110])
12. In certain early Antiochene anaphoras this Matthean Benedictus provides the transition to the postsanctus narrative of the christological economy.

To our initial question where the anaphoral Sanctus came from in the first place, at the present state of the evidence, I do not think we can give a definitive answer. The origins and spread of the anaphoral sanctus in the East remain obscure. In Egypt the Sanctus is from the start embedded in a fixed setting integral to the whole structure of the first part of the anaphora. The biblical trisagion is the climax of the *sacrificum laudis*; the "pleni sunt coeli et terra"

([109]) See for example Part I, section B.I, OCP 57 (1991) 289-90, and L. LIGIER, *Célébration divine et anamnèse dans la première partie de l'anaphore ou canon de la messe orientale*, *Gregorianum* 48 (1967) 225-252, esp. 229-32.

([110]) See Part I, section C.II.7, OCP 57 (1991) 302-4, and section F.III.1 above.

provides the incipit of the transition to the first epiclesis.([111]) In other eastern prayers the Sanctus is inserted at various points in the thanksgiving narrative: before creation (ByzBAS), after creation (AM), after the creation of the world but before the creation of man (*ApConst* VIII, 12:27, EgBAS, JAS), at the end of the entire praise-thanksgiving (APSyr, CHR).([112])

For these striking differences between the Alexandrian Sanctus setting and what we see in eastern anaphoras of Antiochene stamp, one can suggest three alternative explanations:

1. The two distinct anaphoral settings for the Sanctus, in Egypt and outside of Egypt, reflect independent, unrelated liturgical traditions.
2. The anaphoral Sanctus, without Benedictus, originated in the liturgical realm under the aegis of Antioch. When the Egyptians adopted the Sanctus, they adapted it to their exegesis of Is 6:2-3. The Benedictus was never accepted in Egypt because it would have destroyed the *pleni/vere-plenum/imple* unity of the Egyptian anaphoral type. Hence the two different traditions.
3. The anaphoral Sanctus, originally without Benedictus, first appeared in Egypt, whence Palestine and Antiochia received it. The Antiochenes inserted it more or less successfully into the existing Antiochene anaphoral structure of praise and thanks for creation, adding to it the primitive Antiochene Benedictus of Ezk 3:12 in imitation of the synagogue *Yotser*. At a later date, the creation motif recedes, the Arian crisis provokes a trinitarian reinterpretation of the Sanctus, the presanctus becomes a praise of the Trinity, and the Sanctus becomes trinitarian. That is how we find it in Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Cat. 16*, 6, 36,([113]) and in the

([111]) KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 170.

([112]) PE 82-90 (SC 336:180-92), 224, 232, 246, 266, 348, 376; cf. D. TRIPP (ed.), *The Thanksgiving: an Essay by Arthur Couratin*, in B. D. SPINKS (ed.), *The Sacrifice of Praise. Studies on the Themes of Thanksgiving and Redemption in the Central Prayers of the Eucharistic and Baptismal Liturgies.* In Honour of Arthur Herbert Couratin (Bibliotheca *Ephemerides liturgicae*, Subsidia 19, Rome 1981) 60-61; and esp. L. LIGIER, *Célébration divine* (note 109 above).

([113]) ST 145:543-4, 591.

later trinitarian glosses of AM([114]) and JAS,([115]) showing that these Antiochene developments ultimately affected the hagiopolite and Syrian traditions too.([116]) This, in turn, facilitated the substitution of the christological Benedictus of Mt 21:9 for the more primitive Antiochene Benedictus texts of Ezk 3:12 and Rom 1:25, 9:5.

I would reject alternative 1 out of hand. The suggestion that the Sanctus could have landed independently, in both Egypt and elsewhere, in basically the same place in the shape of the anaphora, between the praise and institution account, cannot be taken seriously. Between alternatives 2-3, the choice is not easy.

Could the Egyptian anaphoral Sanctus be a revision of an earlier Syrian one, as in alternative 2? At least one can say that the evidence does not permit us to exclude the possibility that the Egyptians reworked the Syrian Sanctus on the basis of their native Origenist exegesis of Is 6:2-3, and only later referred to the Trinity the Sanctus and *Sancta sanctis* response, as in Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Hom. 16*, 23.([117]) But I think the peculiar Egyptian form, understanding, and liturgical setting of the Sanctus are so early and so distinct as to weaken this view.

Since in Syria this trinitarian interpretation, a consequence of the Arian crisis, is of Egyptian origin, it is clear that the non-trinitarian liturgical Sanctus in Syria antedates these later developments.([118]) But that is true of the Sanctus *everywhere*, so it cannot be used to argue that the Syrian Sanctus is earlier even than the Sanctus in Egypt. Everywhere, the chant was originally addressed to God the Father with neither trinitarian nor christological overtones. This would explain the later addition, though not in Egypt, of the clearly christological([119]) Matthean Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem acclamation, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!" which does not appear in any of the documents of the fourth century.

([114]) MACOMBER, *Addai and Mari* 360-63 = PE 376-7.
([115]) PO 26.2:200 = PE 246.
([116]) Notes 4-5 above.
([117]) ST 145:569. On the response to the *Sancta sanctis*, see my study cited above in note 56.
([118]) KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 174-7.
([119]) See *ibid.* 178.

In many ways this Benedictus is the *crux interpretum*. Although the christological, Matthean Benedictus is not witnessed to before the fifth century, *ApConst* VII, 35:3 and Asterios, *Hom. 29*, 10, both testify to the Benedictus of Ezk 3:12 as in the synagogue *Yotser* (sections C.II.7 in Part I,([120]) and F.III.1 above). It is probable, then, that the pristine Antiochene Sanctus had the Benedictus of Ezk 3:12 from the start. This reduces the likelihood that Egypt borrowed its Sanctus-without-Benedictus from a foreign tradition.

On the other hand, the Syrian connection between Sanctus and creation (3) represents an ancient tradition from late Judaism, where Sanctus and praise for creation are closely linked.([121]) Is a Jewish influence on the liturgy of Antiochia in the second-third centuries conceivable? Obviously: *ApConst* VII is an anthology of Hellenistic-Jewish prayers, as Bousset has demonstrated.([122]) In one of these prayers, *ApConst* VII, 35:3, we find the Sanctus in a structure which, Bousset has shown, was later imitated by the redactor of the parallel section of the anaphora in *ApConst* VIII, 12:27. The Sanctus in VII, 35:3 is already christianized – it is called "victorious" (ἐπινίκιον), it has the Christian reading "*heaven and* earth are filled with *your* glory," and the angelic choirs are listed as in Col 1:16. But it is obvious that the text derives from the synagogue liturgy.([123])

Furthermore, here as elsewhere in the Syrian liturgical traditions – e.g. Narsai, *Homily 17*([124]) – the Cherubim and Seraphim are lumped together in the general listing of the angelic orders, whereas we have seen how important their hierarchical ordering was in

([120]) OCP 57 (1991) 302-4.
([121]) KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 171.
([122]) W. BOUSSET, *Eine jüdische Gebetssammlung im 7. Buch der Apostolischen Konstitutionen, Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse (Göttingen 1915) 435-490. Indeed, the whole pre-sanctus of *ApConst* VIII, 12:6-7 is of Jewish origin. "Only the theological Part I [VIII, 12:6-8] bears a specifically Christian stamp, but even here this is not its original character," affirms H. LIETZMANN, *Mass and Lord's Supper*, with intro. and further inquiry by R. D. RICHARDSON (Leiden 1979) 102; cf. 100-8.
([123]) KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 173.
([124]) *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, translated into English with an introduction by R. H. CONNOLLY. With an appendix by Edmund BISHOP (Texts and Studies VIII.1, Cambridge 1909) 13.

Egypt. This significant difference, plus the close connection between Jewish *Qeduššah* and Christian Sanctus, leads Kretschmar to conclude that Antioch did not receive the Sanctus from Egyptian Christian usage but from Judaism.([125]) I would agree – but that does not mean that the Antiochenes could not have borrowed from Egypt *the idea of introducing their Sanctus into the anaphora.* If the synagogue tradition conditioned the Antiochene *interpretation* of the Sanctus and the inclusion of the Ezk 3:12 Benedictus, as in *ApConst* VII, 35:3, its *integration into the eucharistic prayer* was not necessarily of Jewish inspiration. So I do not think the evidence forces us to conclude that the Antiochenes received the *anaphoral* Sanctus from Judaism without intermediary.

Ultimately, it is the perfect integration of the Sanctus-without-Benedictus into the *pleni/vere-plenum/imple* structure of the Egyptian anaphora, over against the what seems to me less integral framework of the anaphoral Sanctus/Benedictus elsewhere, that makes me incline, albeit tentatively, toward giving priority to Egypt, in agreement with Dix and others. So I lean toward alternative 3, in spite of the *a priori* odds against Egypt being the source of commonality among ancient eastern liturgies.

This is where I differ from my friend Brian Spinks. His new, very detailed and tightly-argued book on the Sanctus was available to me only after the completion of this paper. Though Spinks' excellent study deals extensively with the Jewish background of the Sanctus (Part I) and its place in the several anaphoral traditions early (Part II) and later (Part III), the main point of interest to us here is treated in chapter 6, "The possible origins of the sanctus in the eucharistic prayer." On this point Spinks and I differ, partly at least, both in method and in our conclusions. Spinks' point of departure is stated at the head of the chapter: "Ultimately the question of the origins of the sanctus cannot be divorced from the question of the origin or origins of the eucharistic prayer in which it is found."([126]) That is fair enough as far as it goes, but if pushed too far I do not believe one can use it as an absolute hermeneutical principle. For me, the mere fact that there are some early eucharistic prayers with-

([125]) KRETSCHMAR, *Studien* 173-4.

([126]) B. D. SPINKS, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge 1991) 104.

out Sanctus shows that, unlike elements found everywhere (Sursum corda/mentem; Dignum et iustum; etc.), the Sanctus was not an integral part of the early eucharist and, hence, could well have been – indeed, most probably was – inserted later into all eucharistic prayers regardless of their origins.

Secondly, regarding where this first happened, Spinks concludes:

> As far as the place of origins is concerned, in the Egyptian and Roman traditions, the sanctus would seem to be a later addition to the sense of the anaphora, though the Egyptian unique use remains an enigma. Our examples of eucharistic prayers where the sanctus seems to be an integral part of the prayer are Jerusalem, Cappadocia or North Syria, and Edessa. It may have been integral to the anaphora at Antioch, but our information here is too sparse. The evidence points to the Syrian part of the Church, and those later anaphoras which stem from that area. Once included, it presumably became a popular congregational acclamation and gradually came to feature in all anaphoras as part of the initial praise of God – even when, as in the case of the Roman canon, it had no logical context. Egypt, however, developed its own unique supplicatory use of the sanctus.([127])

This is perfectly plausible, since in such matters we are, ultimately, using value judgements. But to me the Sanctus does not seem more "integral" to the anaphora in Jerusalem, Cappadocia, and Edessa, than in Egypt. On the contrary.

* * *

What conclusions can be drawn from from this welter of conflicting data? I would hazard several at least tentative ones:

1. The Sanctus is not original to the anaphora.
2. Its later interpolation everywhere into the same part of the anaphora betrays unmistakably the relatedness and interdependence of all anaphoral Sanctus traditions.
3. The early emergence, and constant tradition thereafter, of the irreducibly distinct Egyptian Sanctus form without Benedictus, fully integrated, via the *pleni/vere-plenum/imple* structure, into the native Egyptian first epiclesis which

([127]) *Ibid.* 116.

follows the Sanctus immediately, points to an early date for the integration of the Sanctus into the Egyptian-type anaphora, possibly as early as the second half of the third century under Dionysius the Great, bishop of Alexandria from 247-264.

4. So the Sanctus in Egypt is very early, probably earlier than elsewhere, though this cannot be proven.
5. The anaphoral framework of the Egyptian Sanctus-without-Benedictus shows the influence of Alexandrian Jewish exegesis rather than of the synagogue *Yotser*, where the Sanctus appears with the Benedictus of Ezk 3:12.
6. Early on, certainly by the beginning of the fourth century, Jerusalem had received the anaphoral Sanctus, still without Benedictus, from Egypt.
7. In the Antiochene sphere of liturgical influence (Antioch, Syria, Asia Minor) the Sanctus appears by the middle of the fourth century, perhaps even earlier. Under the influence of the synagogue *Yotser* the Ezk 3:12 Benedictus is appended to the Sanctus, and the whole is integrated into the anaphoral thanksgiving for creation as in *ApConst* VIII, 12:6-27, CHR-APSyr, etc.([128])
8. As in Judaism, the Sanctus was everywhere originally addressed to God, among Christians God the Father. All other emphases and specifications of the thrice-holy hymn in either a trinitarian or a christological direction are idiosyncratic or later, vary widely even within individual traditions, and should be used only with great caution as a basis for determining the origins or Urform of the chant.
9. In the fourth century the anti-Arian polemic, first in Egypt, later elsewhere, will lead to a trinitarian reinterpretation of the Sanctus.
10. In the Antiochene sphere this, in turn, effects a christologizing of the Benedictus: Ezk 3:12/Rom 1:25, 9:5 give way to Mt 21:9.
11. Though Jerusalem will eventually adopt this innovation, adding to JAS a trinitarian gloss of the sort visible also in

([128]) SC 336:180-92; PE 82-90, 224, 265-6.

APSyr/CHR,([129]) the Benedictus was never accepted in Egypt because the indigenous Egyptian *pleni/vere-plenum/imple* Sanctus framework excludes it *a priori*.

12. Ratcliff's theory that the Sanctus, when first interpolated into the anaphora, formed the conclusion to a simple eucharistic prayer of thanksgiving, while possible, remains hypothetical and, in my view, unlikely, in spite of the welcome this hypothesis has received.
13. There is no evidence that the early eucharist had one homogenous anaphoral prayer over the gifts. Indeed, several early anaphoras show signs of patchwork structure and redactional reworking.
14. So even if Ratcliff *et sequaces* were right, in a period of oral tradition where improvisation was the rule, the existence of an opening prayer ("preface") of praise and thanks, complete in itself, and concluding with the Sanctus or some other concluding doxology, is no proof that this prayer was not accompanied by other prayers of an anamnetic, epicletic, or intercessory nature, such as the later embolisms containing the institution narrative and other material.
15. Recent research on the anaphora has shown clearly enough that one cannot simply view the eucharistic prayer as having been an integrated structure of eucharistia, anamnesis, invocation, and intercessions from the start.

([129]) PE 224.26-7; 246.7-11; 266.9-11; cf. notes 4-5 above.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

The following information is intended to take account of at least the principal works that have appeared since the studies in this anthology were published.

I. The Liturgy of the Great Church on the Eve of Iconoclasm (1980-1981):

I have now synthesized my views on the entire history of the Byzantine liturgical tradition in R.F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite. A Short History* (American Essays in Liturgy, Collegeville: The Liturgical Press 1992). There is also newly available an edition with English translation of Germanus' *Historia Ecclesiastica:* St. Germanus of Constantinople, *On the Divine Liturgy*, The Greek Text with Translation, Introduction and Commentary by Paul Meyendorff (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press 1984), with an introduction largely dependent on my study. Furthermore, another fundamental work has now been translated into English: H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy. Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression* (New York: Pueblo 1986). K. Ch. Felmy, *Die Deutung der Göttlichen Liturgie in der russischen Theologie. Wege und Wandlungen russischer Liturgie-Auslegung* (Arbeiten zu Kirchengeschichte 54, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter 1984), treats the *Nachleben* of Orthodox liturgical commentaries in "Byzance après Byzance," Concerning Iconoclasm as a conservative movement (I 46 note 7; I 72) Thomas F. Mathews has kindly pointed out to me (letter of 30 June 1983) an important earlier article on this issue that I had neglected: Sister Charles Murray, "Art and the Early Church," JTS 28 (1977) 303-345.

II. The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church (1979-1980):

After much debate with colleagues concerning some of the principles (II 281) I proposed to follow for the edition of the Greek text in No. II, or when to regularize a text with fluctuating orthography, or whether to correct accentuation in the ms (e.g., ἰδέ vs. ἴδε) that may be acceptable in some but not all levels/periods of Greek, I have decided to leave my edition more or less as is except for the correction of misprints and obvious errors. I do so not from any rash conviction that there is only one acceptable view of such issues, but because this is not the place (nor, indeed, is it within my area of special competence) to debate them.

To the list of primary sources cited (II 89-96) add the late (ca. 1600 AD?) Greek archieratikon in codex *Washington D.C. Library of Congress Ms 37*, which I have since had occasion to study. The ms is described in S. Schutzner, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress. A Descriptive Catalog*, Vol. I: *Bibles, Liturgy, Books of Hours* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress 1989) 237-243. I am grateful to Declan Murphy and Thomas Noonan of the Rare Books Division of The Library of Congress for bringing this ms to my attention and facilitating my research. Important new secondary sources can also be added to the bibliography to complete (or in some minor points modify) what I said on several issues: on Slavonic sources in general, see the dissertation wirtten under my direction and containing material broader in scope than the limitations imposed by its title: L.D. Huculak, OSBM, *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in the Kievan Metropolitan Province during the Period of Union with Rome (1596-1839)*, (Analecta OSBM, series 2, section 1, vol. 47, Rome 1990); on acclamations/diptychs (II 115): Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West*

(Cambridge/Paris 1986) and R.F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. IV: *The Diptychs* (OCA 238, Rome 1991); on the choir at Hagia Sophia (against what I affirm in II 286, note 19): N.K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Byzantina Neerlandica, Fasc. 9, Leiden 1986) esp. ch. 3: The Byzantine Choir"; on the ektene (II 293-4; 116): S. Parenti, "L'*Ektenê* della Liturgia di Crisostomo nell'eucologio St. Petersburg gr. 226," *Eulogema* 295-318; on concelebration (II 101): R.F. Taft, "Byzantine Liturgical Evidence in the Life of St. Marcian the Œconomos: Concelebration and the Preanaphoral Rites," OCP 48 (1982) 159-70; idem, *Beyond East and West. Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy, Washington D.C. 1984) ch. 6; on rogations (λιτή) and stational liturgy (II 287, 111-12): J.F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (OCA 228, Rome 1987); idem, "A Note on the Liturgical Processions in the Menologion of Basil II (Ms. Vat. Gr. 1613)," *Eulogema* 25-39; on the communion, thanksgiving, and final rites in general (II 298-307, 118-24): R.F. Taft, *Beyond East and West* 182-8; idem, "Reconstructing the History of the Byzantine Communion Ritual: Principles, Methods, Results," *Ecclesia Orans* 9 (1994) 355-377; in particular, on the communion antiphon (II 305, 119-22): Th. Schattauer, "The Koinonicon of the Byzantine Liturgy: An Historical Study," OCP 49 (1983) 91-129; on the zeon (II 118): R.F. Taft, "Water into Wine. The Twice-Mixed Chalice in the Byzantine Eucharist," Mus 100 (1987) 323-342; on the clergy communion (II 300-303, 118-19): R.F. Taft, *Beyond East and West*, 101-109; on the ambo and Opisthambonos Prayer (II 306-7; 123): A. Jacob, "Où était récitée la prière de l'ambon?" Byz 51 (1981) 306-315; A. Kazhdan, "A Note on the 'Middle-Byzantine' Ambo," Byz 5 (1987) 422-426; G. Passarelli, "Osservazioni liturgiche," BBGG 33 (1979) 85-91, and the now available study to which he refers: idem, *Macario Crisocefalo (1300-1382). L'omelia sulla festa dell'Ortodossia e la basilica di S. Giovanni di Filadelfia* (OCA 210, Rome 1980).

III. The Authenticity of the Chrysostom Anaphora (1990):

This study is reviewed by U. Zanetti, "Histoire de la Liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome: petit état de la question," Byz 63 (1993) 435-437. One announced study (III 17 note 44) has appeared in the meantime: J.R.K. Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St Basil and St James. An Investigation into their Common Origin* (OCA 240, Rome 1992), concerning which, however, see the serious reservations in the excellent and detailed review of G. Winkler, OC 78 (1994) 269-77. On later interpolations into the Chrysostom Anaphora provoked by the fourth-century trinitarian controversies, see now the new study of E. Lanne, "Gli incisi trinitari nell'anafora di San Giovanni Crisostomo e nelle anafore imparentate," *Eulogema* 269-283. To the studies on the Dêr-Balizeh papyrus cited (III, 40), add K. Gamber, "Der liturgische Papyrus von Deir el-Balai'izah in Oberägypten (6./7. Jh.)," Mus 82 (1969) 61-83.

IV. Mount Athos (1988):

On the formation of the Byzantine liturgical synthesis treated in this and the two following studies (Nos. V-VI), see now R.F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite. A Short History* (cited above, No. I). There is also newly available a corrected and improved, revised edition of idem, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*, (2nd revised edition, Collegeville: The Liturgical Press 1993), as well as Italian and French versions of the same: *La Liturgia delle Ore in Oriente e in Occidente. Le origini dell'Ufficio divino e il suo significato oggi* (Testi di teologia 4, Cinisello Balsamo [Milano]: Edizioni Paoline 1988); *La Liturgie des Heures en Orient et en Occident. Origine et sens de l'Office divin* (Mysteria 2, Turnhout: Brepols 1991).

V. In the Bridegroom's Absence (1990):

On the question of icons — i.e., portable sacred images as distinct from iconographic church decorative programs in fresco or mosaic — and their use in the liturgy, treated here only

tangentially (V 86ff), see the excellent new study of Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," DOP 45 (1991) 45-57.

VII. Some Notes on the Bema (1968):

The problem of the "Syrian Bema" continues unabatedly to exercise the imagination of archeologists and liturgiologists. Though numerous works have appeared on the topic since the appearance of "Some Notes," authors continue to use my study as a point of reference for the liturgical interpretation of this intriguing exedra.

Archeological: By far the most exciting news is the discovery in 1989 of a hitherto unknown bema-church at a dig in Iraqi Kurdistan, some 20 km southwest of Sulaimaniya, in the province of the same name. The Gulf War and its aftermath have prevented any adequate study of this new excavation, but I have been able to examine photographs of the site taken by Rev. Ephrem Mati. For this information and the photos, I am indebted to my graduate student Rev. Pauly Maniyattu. The church, provisionally dated by local Iraqi researchers to the 6th century, is part of a much larger building complex thought to be a monastery. Clearly visible in the photos is a large semicircular bema in the center of the nave, elevated above floor level and reached by two steps at the center of its straight front end, which forms the diameter of the semicircle facing the sanctuary to the east. The outer edge of the bema platform is surmounted by a masonry border about 50 cm wide (all measurements are but approximate estimations from the photos), and elevated about 50 cm above the floor of the bema platform, to form a synthronon. This synthronon has a throne — clearly a throne and not a pulpit — at the center of its curved west end. The qestroma or elevated sanctuary platform juts out only about 50 cm in front of the sanctuary enclosure. This enclosure, a solid masonry wall, is pierced by a large central doorway giving access to the sanctuary. Three steps cut into the center of the qestroma platform lead directly up to this sanctuary entrance, at the doorsill of which the sanctuary interior is elevated another step above the level of the qestroma. Of special interest is the šqaqona, which appears from the photos to be a pathway at floor-level enclosed by walls. These walls extend from the front (east) end of the bema to just before the qestroma or sanctuary platform, where they break to allow passage north-south between qestroma and šqaqona, as has been traditionally presumed in hypothetical reconstructions of the East-Syrian church arrangement (VII 333-4). Until the débris at the site are carefully sifted it will not be possible to reconstruct other aspects of the bema (pulpits, Golgotha, etc.). This exciting new discovery confirms, modifies, or nuances views of the East-Syrian bema in the following ways:

1. If the site was indeed a monastery, this would be the first confirmed bema-church in a monastic context (VII 348, 351).
2. The semicircular shape of the bema shows that the curved-end bema was not a West-Syrian peculiarity (VII 330, 334, 342).
3. The clearly visible throne at the center of the curved western extremity of the exedra confirms this aspect of the East-Syrian bema vis-à-vis the more common West-Syrian bema pulpit (VII 341-6, 350).
4. The hitherto hypothetical reconstruction from East-Syrian literary sources (VII 333-4) of the nature and shape of the šqaqona as a floor-level pathway enclosed by walls and extending from the bema to just before the qestroma, where it breaks to allow passage north-south across the nave in front of the sanctuary entrance, is now for the first time confirmed by archeological data.

Most important new studies on the bema-churches have also been archeological. See chiefly the following superb volumes: G. Tchalenko, E. Baccache, *Églises de village de la Syrie du Nord. Planches* (Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient, Beyrouth-Damas-Amman, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Tome CV, Documents d'archéologie: La

Syrie à l'époque de l'Empire romain d'Orient, N° 1, Paris 1979); E. Baccache, *Ibid., Album* (*ibid.*, Paris 1980); G. Tchalenko (†1987), *Églises syriennes à bêma. Text* (*ibid.*, Paris 1990); Pauline Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban. Décor, archéologie et liturgie*, 2 vols. (Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain LXIX, Louvain-la-Neuve: Département d'archéologie et d'historie de l'art, Collège Érasme 1988); Th. Ulbert, *Die Basilika des Heiligen Kreuzes in Resafa-Sergiupolis* (Deutches Archäologisches Institut, Resafa II, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern 1986). From these studies we learn that

1. Though the lists do not always coincide, some 13 additional bema churches are now identified for Syria (11 in Tchalenko-Baccache and Renhart, plus 2 more in Donceel-Voûte), and 2 once listed as having a bema (Bezîher, Ba'uda) have been dropped from the original Lassus-Tchalenko list of 30 (CA 5 [1951] 94-95). This raises the list of bema-churches outside Mesopotamia to 41. In addition, Tchalenko (*Églises*, 325) lists 5 other probable bema-churches that remain to be studied.
2. The confirmation of a rectangular bema with throne in Fafertin, the discovery of a curved bema at the newly-excavated site in Iraq, and the finding of a bema-altar or credence in two churches (Kafr Nabo, Sergible), relativizes two characteristics my study listed (VII 341) as distinguishing the West-Syrian bema from the East-Syrian: "3) the west end is always curved; 4) there is no Golgatha altar." But I would consider highly questionable the sigma altar reconstructed on the bema of Sugane (Tchalenko-Baccache, *Planches*, p. 63 fig. 117).
3. Mosaic designs in the nave floor of 2 churches (Rayan, Oum Hartaïne) seem to indicate a bema-like liturgical disposition even where no permanent stone bema is found (Donceel-Voûte 192ff, 261ff, 521). Such churches could have had a bema of wood. Furthermore, the dimensions of the nave in 2-3 other edifices would permit the possibility of a similar non-permanent bema structure.
4. Though these new discoveries extend somewhat the geographical range of the bema-churches, they continue to be found in Syria and Mesopotamia but not in neighboring Lebanon (cf. Donceel-Voûte) or Palestine (cf. Y. Tsafrir, ed., *Ancient Churches Revealed*, Jerusalem 1993. I am grateful to Prof. Tsafrir for providing me a copy of this precious study).
5. Furthermore, within the same region of the bema-churches a variety of non-bema liturgical arrangements continue to be indentified, nor do all bema-churches have the same liturgical characteristics in other respects. On this, in addition to the above works, esp. Donceel-Voûte *passim* and conclusion p. 511, see N. Duval, "Notes sur l'église de Kabr Hiram (Liban) et ses installations liturgiques," CA 26 (1977) 81-104; W. Djobadze, *Archeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch on-the-Orontes* (Forschungen zur kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie, Bd. 13., Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 1986).
6. In one bema-church (Bafetin) the bema was later substituted by an ambo (Tchalenko-Baccache, *Planches*, 220-227).
7. J.-M. Fiey tentatively identifies possible bema illustrations in some ms illuminations: "Iconographie syriaque. Hulagu, Doquz Khatun...et six ambons?" Mus 88 (1975) 59-68, esp. 64-68.
8. Donceel-Voûte correctly observes (p. 519) that no archeological remains have been found in Syria to justify considering the šqaqone a sort of solea-pathway connecting sanctuary and bema, and she proposes that what the commentators call the šqaqona may simply have been the narrow space in the nave between bema and sanctuary platform, and its "doors" no more than the accesses to that space at the four points of the compass: E (to/from the sanctuary), W (to/from thebema), and N-S of the nave. This question must now be reconsidered in the light of what is obviously a šqaqona in the Iraqi bema-church discussed above.

9. The bema-church at Resafa, first called "St. Sergius," then, neutrally, "basilica A," is now properly named "The Holy Cross Basilica" (cf. Ulbert, p. ix).

Other problems under debate, such as the dating of the bema-church of Qalbloze in relation to Qalat Siman (G. Tchalenko in *Syria* 50 [1973] 128-136; Ch. Strube in JAC 20 [1977] 181-191; J.-L. Biscop & J.-P. Sodini in *Syria* 61 [1984] 267-330; related articles in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* III, 854-902) do not affect my argument.

Liturgica: For the most recent summary of research on the bema, see Erich Renhart, *Das liturgische Bema. Untersuchungen zum Mittelschiffbema nordsyrischer Kirchen des 4. bis 6. Jahrhunderts* (1991 doctoral dissertation at the University of Graz, Austria, presently in press). R. discusses issues deliberately prescinded from in my essay: the possible non-Christian origins of the bema, and parallels with Manichean and synagogue architecture. But R. confirms (p. 115) the results of my study for the liturgical interpretation of the bema. Note, however, the following:

1. *Pace* Renhart (pp. 76, 116) I would still insist on the need to keep separate the East and West Syrian archeological and textual evidence, a distinction in no way based on later *doctrinal* (Monophysite-Nestorian) divisions, as R. seems to imply, but on the fact that we are dealing with two separate *liturgical* traditions whose distinct provenance (though of course not their later developed form) certainly antedates those doctrinal controversies. So one cannot just presume that the texts of one tradition fit the architecture of the other. On the distinct Syriac traditions and their provenance, see now the important study of W.F. Macomber, "A Theory on the Origins of the Syrian, Maronite and Chaldean Rites," OCP 39 (1973) 235-242.
2. I reaffirm my statement that "the liturgical influence in Syria and Mesopotamia generally travelled from West to East" (VII 358; cf. Renhart, p. 117). In the context I am talking, obviously, of *Christian liturgical influence*, — i.e., about where the Syrian Christian bema might have first appeared, and not about possible earlier non-Christian origins to the East, an issue from which I prescind entirely, following a long-held conviction that not every study must begin with Adam.
3. If I was guilty of the anachronism of relying on later texts to understand the liturgical use of earlier archeological remains, I can only plead that these are the only texts we have.

Other new studies include P. Yousif, "Le lieu de la célébration de la parole dans la liturgie chaldéenne," *Chronique de l'art sacré* 34 (été 1993) 6-10. Regarding the Maphrianate of Tikrit: J.-M. Fiey, "Les diocèses du 'Maphrianat' syrien," *Parole de l'Orient* 5 (1974) 133-164, 331-393; 8 (1977-78) 347-378. On Syriac liturgical commentaries: idem, "De la construction de l'église syrienne occidentale d'après Yahya ibn Jarir," Mus 81 (1969) 357-362; one further, 9th-century text has now been edited and studied, but it says nothing of the bema: *Le «De oblatione» de Jean de Dara*, éd. et trad. par J. Sader (CSCO 308-309 = Scriptores Syri 132-133, Louvain 1970); J. Sader, *Le lieu de culte et la messe syro-occidentale selon le «De oblatione» de Jean de Dara. Étude* d'archéologie et *de liturgie* (OCA 223, Rome 1983). Finally, despite my still valid strictures against it (VII 359 note 1), L. Bouyer's *Architecture et Liturgie*, retains its popularity and was recently reissued in German translation: *Liturgie u. Architektur* (Theologia Romanica XVIII, Freiburg/B.: Johannes Verlag Einsiedeln 1993).

All this leads to the conclusion that the dust is yet to settle on the whole issue of the bema-church, and the liturgy and liturgical disposition of the churches of Late-Antique and Medieval Syria. The dialogue between archeology and liturgy, of which Donceel-Voûte's superb study remains exemplary for its careful and accurate liturgical analysis (*passim* for each church plus pp. 501-541), is still in its infancy. On this see Sible de Blaauw, "Architecture and Liturgy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages," ALW 33 (1991) 1-34, for Syria esp. pp. 6-7.

VIII. On the Use of the Bema (1970):

Since this article appeared, our knowledge of East-Syrian liturgical celebrations has been enriched by some new publications. The dissertation of S.Y.H. Jammo (VI 30 note 1) is now available in print: *La structure de la messe chaldéenne du début jusqu' à l'anaphore. Étude historique* (OCA 207, Rome 1979). Jammo (pp. 29-48) provides a Latin version of the still unpublished commentary of Gabriel Qatraya, an edition of which I prematurely announced as forthcoming (VII 332 note 1; VIII 30 note 1). See also W.F. Macomber, "The Liturgy of the Word according to the Commentators of the Chaldean mass," in: R.J. Clifford and G.W. MacRae (eds.), *The Word in the World. Essays in Honor of Frederick L. Moriarty, S.J.*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1973) 179-190; S. Pudichery, *Ramsa. An Analysis and Interpretation of the Chaldean Vespers* (Dhamaram College Studies 9, Bangalore: Dhamaram College 1972); J. Vellian, *East Syrian Evening Services* (Kottayam: Indian Institute for Eastern Churches 1971). And on the question of East-Syrian concelebration (VIII 32 note 7), see now R.F. Taft, *Beyond East and West* (above, No. II) ch. 6.

IX. The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Anaphora (1991-1992):

The Sanctus debate has been carried further in an important article which takes my study as its point of departure: Gabriele Winkler, "Nochmals zu den Anfängen der Epiklese und des Sanctus im Eucharistischen Hochgebet," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 174 (1994) 214-231. Winkler advances new texts, argues that the original locus of the Sanctus in Christian liturgy is to be found in the initiation rites, and opts for Syria rather than Egypt as its point of entrance into the anaphora. C. Giraudo, S.J., also disusses the Sanctus in his new study, *Preghiere eucaristiche per la chiesa di oggi. Riflessioni in margine al commento del canone svizzero-romano* (Aloisiana 23, Rome: Gregorian University Press — Bescia: Morcelliana 1993) 70-80, where he takes issue with some of my conclusions (esp. 72 note 4). Nor has the debate concerning Asterios Sophistes terminated. Reviews of Kinzig, *Search* (IX 83-4) continue to appear, and to the bibliography on Asterios (IX 97-106) one can now add: Markus Vinzent, *Asterius von Kappadokien. Die theologischen Fragmente. Einleitung, kritischer Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 20, Leiden/New York/Cologne 1993) — cf. 5-19: "Forschungsgeschichte," esp. 7-9 concerning the homilies on the psalms. In addition, on the creed in Ps.-Dionysius (IX 101-3) see now S. Janeras, "La *katholikè hymnologia* dello Pseudo-Dionigi e il Grande Ingresso," *Eulogema* 179-198. To these works add another study I neglected to cite: P.-M. Gy, "Le *Sanctus* romain et les anaphores orientales," in: *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B.* (Louvain 1972) 167-74. Finally, I am indebted to J. Magne (letter of 28 May 1992) for certain precisions concerning his views on Addai and Mari (IX 290 note 26), which I inadvertently misrepresented and have now corrected, as well as for indicating further literature on the anaphoral Sanctus: J. Magne, "Carmina Christo. I - Le 'Sanctus' de la Messe latine," EL 100 (1986) 3-27; id., *Logique des dogmes* (Paris 1989) 140-51 and the forthcoming studies announced *ibid.* 240.

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